NOVA BRITANNIA

OR

OUR NEW CANADIAN DOMINION FORESHADOWED.

BY

THE HON. [illegible] M.D., [illegible]

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NOVA BRITANNIA;

OR,

OUR NEW CANADIAN DOMINION FORESHADOWED.

BEING A SERIES OF

Lectures, Speeches and Addresses

BY

THE HON. ALEXANDER MORRIS, P.C., D.C.L.,

Late Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, the North-West Territories and Keewatin.

Edited, with Notes and an Introduction,

BY A MEMBER OF THE CANADIAN PRESS.

"There is another little book, to which I must refer. It is a pamphlet, which met with an extraordinary degree of success, entitled *Nova Britannia*, by my honourable friend the Member for South Lanark: and as he has been one of the principal agents in bringing into existence the present Government, which is now carrying out the idea embodied in his book, I trust he will forgive me if I take the opportunity, although he is present, of reading a single sentence to show how far he was in advance, and how true he was to the coming event, which we are now considering. At page 57 of his pamphlet [pp. 48, 49 of the present volume]—which I hope will be reprinted among the political miscellanies of the Provinces when we are one country and one people—I find this paragraph:—'The dealing with the destinies of a future Britannic empire, the shaping its course, the laying its foundations broad and deep, and the erecting thereon a noble and enduring superstructure, are indeed duties that may well evoke the energies of our people, and nerve the arms and give power and enthusiasm to the aspirations of all true patriots. The very magnitude of the interests involved will, I doubt not, elevate many among us above the demands of sectionalism, and enable them to evince sufficient comprehensiveness of mind to deal in the spirit of real statesmen with issues so momentous, and to originate and develop a national line of commercial and general policy, such as will prove adapted to the wants and exigencies of our position.' There are many other excellent passages in the work, but the spirit that animates the whole will be seen from the extract I have read."—*Speech of the Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, in the Canadian Assembly, February 9th*, 1865.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE ensuing lectures have been long out of print. Even at this late day I have frequent applications for copies of them, and it is but a short time since I was applied to for copies to be forwarded to the Australian Government. As they deal with questions of permanent importance, I have decided upon their republication. My first intention was to recast and modernize them, but upon reflection I have decided to reissue them in their original form—with the exception of a few unimportant verbal alterations—and accompanied by foot-notes shewing the marvellous progress of our country during the years which have elapsed since the lectures were first prepared. A careful perusal of the text and notes will satisfy any reader that the hopes of Canadians as to the future of the Dominion rest on a solid and substantial basis. It will be seen that much of what I anticipated twenty years ago has come to pass. And the end is not yet. Canada to-day enjoys her full share of participation in the advancement which is so striking a feature of the present age, and I doubt not that she will in the future continue to be what I regarded her in the comparatively remote past—"one of the brightest jewels in the British Crown."

I have added a number of speeches and addresses delivered at various times in the course of my public career. The

notes and running comments distributed here and there throughout the volume sufficiently explain the circumstances to which they relate. "Nova Britannia," the title of Lecture I., has been retained throughout, as equally applicable to the entire volume, and also as characteristic of the position of a country which, as an allied nation, will, I doubt not, become a very important factor in the working out of the future of our ancestral Island Home and its colonial "Greater Britain."

ALEXANDER MORRIS.

TORONTO, January, 1884.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION.

THE purpose intended to be served by the republication of the lectures, speeches and addresses which go to make up the present volume are sufficiently indicated in the Author's Preface. The editor's share in the reproduction has been comparatively slight. So far as the two lectures are concerned, his task has been almost entirely restricted to supplying a succession of footnotes, some of which are explanatory of certain passages in the text, while others bring down the history and statistics to recent times. With respect to the speeches and addresses, it has not been deemed advisable to incumber them with prolific notes, as, from their nature, and from the variety of subjects dealt with, a more obvious method of elucidation suggested itself. Wherever it seemed that a note would answer the purpose—that of making the facts clear and intelligible to readers of the present day, or of showing by statistics the great advance made by the country in the interval which has elapsed—that mode has been adopted; but where something more than mere annotation appeared to be called for, a running commentary, explanatory of the attendant circumstances, has been interwoven with the text. It is believed that no matter of importance has been left to conjecture, and that no intelligent reader, with the combined aid of notes and commentary, will encounter any difficulty in grasping the full significance of the argument.

That argument, the editor may be permitted to say, is consistent and harmonious throughout. In its inception, it recognizes the instability of the then-existing legislative union between Upper and Lower Canada, and confidently looks forward to a general Confederation of all the British North American Provinces into a Dominion stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific.* In steadily tracing the progress of our country during the last quarter of a century, one cannot help being struck with the literal nature of the fulfilment of the lecturer's forecasts, not only in their principal features, but even as to minute matters of detail.† It is not, of course, pretended that the author of *Nova Britannia* was the first or only writer who indulged in such speculations as these; but he at least seems to have been the only young Canadian who had an abiding faith in the speedy fulfilment of his predictions, and who contributed to their fulfilment by keeping the subject constantly before the public eye. As mentioned in the body of this work, the project of a General Canadian Confederation was the dream of his boyhood. At an age when most boys are to be found at the skating-rink or in the cricket field, he loved to bury himself in the pages of Lord Durham's "Report," or in some of the many works treating of that wonderful, far-away region then nominally known as the Hudson's Bay Company's Territories. When he grew old enough to take part in public affairs, he identified himself with every movement which seemed to hold out any prospect of realizing the hopes begotten of his careful reading and his ardent patriotism. In the summer of 1849, when he was only twenty-three years of age, we find him busily engaged in stir-

* See pp. 43, 44, 88.

† See, for instance, pp. 43–46, 57, 74, 76–78, 87–90, 96.

ring up the question at the meeting of the British American League, held at Kingston. And here, for the first time in our history, the project of Confederation was taken up as a practical measure by any considerable number of the adherents of a political body. The members of the League were for the most part young and enthusiastic members of the Conservative party; but they belonged to the advanced wing of it—the wing which was already beginning to see the expediency of repudiating the effete doctrines of Sir Allan MacNab, and of rallying round the banner of Mr. John A. Macdonald. Well, the League did not long hold together, and therefore failed to achieve any direct result, but there can be no doubt that the discussions of that body, published in the newspapers of the day, and afterwards re-issued in pamphlet form, did something to educate the public mind. Soon after this time Mr. Morris took up his permanent abode in Montreal, where, on presenting his credentials as an Upper Canadian barrister, he was called to the bar of Lower Canada, and entered upon a successful commercial practice. He nevertheless found time to write much and often on his favourite topics of the acquisition of the North-West and a Confederation of British North America. He from time to time contributed articles and letters on these subjects to the newspaper press of Montreal. His views became widely known, and some of his friends occasionally bantered him on his enthusiasm, alleging that he had Confederation and Hudson's Bay Territories on the brain. He laughed as heartily as his friends, but did not the less cease to agitate on his favourite subjects whenever an opportunity of doing so presented itself. In 1855 appeared his well-known essay on "Canada and Her Resources," to which was awarded the

second prize offered by the Paris Exhibition Committee of Canada. In 1858 he delivered his lecture on "Nova Britannia," before the Mercantile Library Association of Montreal.* Its reception was such as to render its publication in pamphlet form almost a matter of necessity. Upon its appearance it was eagerly bought up, insomuch that a large edition was sold within the short space of ten days. A contemporary notice referred to "Nova Britannia" and its author in the following terms :—"Mr. Morris is at once statistical, patriotic, and prophetic. The lecturer sees in the future a fusion of races, a union of all the existing provinces to grow up in the west, and a railway to the Pacific. The design of the lecture is excellent, and its facts seem to have been carefully collected." From that time to this the pamphlet has been more or less in demand, and as it has long been practically unobtainable, the author has included it in the present collection. The second lecture, on the "Hudson's Bay and Pacific Territories,†" followed in 1859, and was received with almost as much favour as the former one. This, also, was published in pamphlet form, and, like its predecessor, has been long out of print. The two lectures contain an amount of valuable information which, even at the present day, when so many additional sources of knowledge on the subjects treated of are open to us, is not often found compressed into an equally restricted space.

In 1862 Mr. Morris for the first time took his seat in Parliament, and we find that in his very first Parliamentary utterance he gives forcible expression to the idea which pos-

* See p. 3, note.
† See p. 52.

sessed him.* The same conviction finds expression in all his subsequent utterances, until his cherished scheme of union was actually accomplished. The important part played by him in the negotiations leading to the Coalition which rendered such a union possible, are stated in the body of this work.† Confederation having become a reality, we find him turning his attention to the other project so often mooted by him—the acquisition of the North-West Territories. A newspaper report of his speech on the resolutions introduced by Mr. McDougall to effect that purpose is given in this volume, and though it is doubtless considerably abridged, it forcibly conveys the arguments which had long before been outlined at greater length in the lectures delivered at Montreal.

It was eminently fitting that one who had so long and so carefully studied the subject, and who had played so conspicuous a part in the acquisition of the Territories by the Dominion, should be entrusted with the task of establishing law and order there. As first Chief Justice of Manitoba Mr. Morris was compelled to encounter many difficulties, which were only overcome by patient tact and the exercise of calm good sense. When he succeeded Mr. Archibald as Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, in December, 1872, he had barely completed his self-allotted task of establishing English rules and precedents for the guidance of the Courts of Law. The country was just recovering from the effects of Riel's rebellion. Creeds and nationalities were pitted against each other, and there was constant danger of collision. There was moreover a large element of the people among whom there was little respect for the

* See pp. 94-97.
† See pp. 98-100.

law. So great has been the transition that it seems scarcely conceivable that such a state of things existed in Manitoba so recently as eleven years ago.

One of the most distinguishing of Mr. Morris's qualifications during his residence in the North-West was the tact which enabled him to mollify and reconcile contending factions; and this without abating one jot or tittle of the paramount claims which he specially represented. He possessed the faculty of entertaining hostile deputations, and of converting their hostility into good humour with him and with each other, without yielding an iota where it was his duty to stand firm. A signal instance of his firmness may be found recorded in an old number of the *Standard*, a newspaper formerly published at Winnipeg; and as the incident is of some historical significance it may as well be reproduced here.

The Canadian reader may be assumed to be familiar with the leading incidents attendant upon the insurrection at Red River, and the claim to an amnesty set up on behalf of Louis Riel. A Royal Proclamation of amnesty to the insurgents for all past offences had been issued at Ottawa. Subsequent to this event the tragic and brutal murder of Thomas Scott took place, which of course gave an entirely different complexion to the situation. Such was the aspect of affairs at Red River when the Province of Manitoba came into existence. Riel, who was personally responsible for "the dark crime of the rebellion," remained in the Province, and he and his friends continued to clamour for an amnesty. On the evening of Monday, the 9th of December, 1872, subsequent to Mr. Morris's appointment as Lieutenant-Governor, but before the actual arrival of his commission, he was

waited upon by an influential deputation of Half-Breeds. Their spokesman was Mr. L. Schmidt, M. P. P. (formerly Secretary to Riel's "Provisional Government"), who felicitated his Honour on his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor, and then proceeded to inquire whether certain promises made with respect to the Half-Breed lands would be carried out. He added that there was another matter which the deputation had much at heart; viz., that none of those who had participated in past events should be troubled in any way; and he finally inquired whether the latter would be protected.

Mr. Morris replied in French. He thanked them for their good wishes, and said that everything in the Manitoba Act would be carried out; adding that he had received a telegram from Ottawa intimating that the lands would be given to the Métis. He also gave information to the deputation on the Hay and Common Rights, and the issue of Patents to the lands. As to the second question, he informed them that he had no authority from Ottawa on the subject of an amnesty, and he could only explain the law as it stood. He cited the Queen's Proclamation issued by the Governor-General, Sir John Young, urging all subjects to return to their peaceful occupations, and submit to her authority, when the past would be overlooked. He proceeded to add, however, that as that Proclamation had been issued before the death of Scott, the law still ruled as to that event. By the law then in force, no one had a right to order to be put to death, or to put to death, another, as had been done in that case. The parties concerned in the affair were liable to be tried before a judge and jury, and should they be found guilty the matter would rest with the Governor-General at Ottawa as to the

carrying out of the sentence. Until a trial took place, the Queen alone had power to grant an amnesty, as the country was under Imperial rule at the time of the occurrence. "I have spoken," said Mr. Morris, "as a Judge and Administrator, and believing it to be my duty to explain exactly how the law stands."

Mr. Schmidt here asked if an amnesty had not been promised.

Mr. Morris replied that he had no knowledge of any promise except the Queen's Proclamation. He said the deputation had called on him prematurely. He had not yet assumed the office of Lieutenant-Governor, and had not received his commission, but was still acting as Chief Justice and Administrator. He urged upon the deputation the necessity of all the people labouring for the advancement of the common country, and for the establishment of peace and harmony in the future.

The deputation retired, Mr. Schmidt having again thanked his Excellency for the interview.

Mr. Morris served his full term of five years as Lieutenant-Governor, and when he bade adieu to the Province he had the satisfaction of leaving behind him an orderly and law-abiding community. He found the country, as we have said, just emerging from an insurrection. He left it as loyal and progressive as any other Province of the Dominion. With his career subsequent to his departure from Manitoba the present work has no concern. Any one who reads this little volume attentively will perforce be led to the conclusion that if his life had ended there and then, it would not have been lived in vain.

PART I.

TWO LECTURES.

I. NOVA BRITANNIA; OR THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCES INTO THE DOMINION OF CANADA FORESHADOWED.

II. THE HUDSON'S BAY AND PACIFIC TERRITORIES.

Lecture E.

NOVA BRITANNIA;

OR,

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCES INTO THE DOMINION OF CANADA.*

In acceding to the kind invitation of this Society to lecture before them, I have preferred to select for consideration a subject of practical interest. It is impossible, within the brief limits of a fleeting hour, to do justice to so large and comprehensive a subject; but my purpose will have been attained if, by the instrumentality of this lecture, any one is led to make the matter treated of the subject of after reflection and inquiry. In fact, in this I believe the chief merit of the modern lecture to consist: that through it some topic of importance is treated in a popular style, and

* The following lecture was read before the Mercantile Library Association of Montreal, as part of its special course, on the 18th of March, 1858. At the conclusion of the reading, the Honourable Peter McGill rose, and, addressing the President, stated that he had listened with much satisfaction to the lecture which had just been delivered. He believed its wide circulation would be productive of much good, and he was sure he uttered the sentiments of every person present when he desired its publication. He would, therefore, move

"That Mr. Morris be requested to publish the lecture in pamphlet form, under the auspices of the Mercantile Library Association."

The motion was seconded by Mr. James Mitchell, and adopted by acclamation.

The President, Mr. T. S. Brown, then stated that the Association would be proud to secure for the lecture wide publicity.

On the suggestion of Mr. W. Edmonstone, three cheers were given for the Queen, and the meeting closed.

presented to the consideration of a general audience, in some of whom the spirit of inquiry may be enkindled; and that thus they may be led onward and upward in the pursuit of knowledge, and in the acquisition of general information.

Impressed, then, with this belief, I invite your attention for a brief space to a consideration of the present condition of the British North American colonies. Ere I close, I shall indulge in what some may deem the fanciful dream of an enthusiast, with regard to the future destiny of that immense tract of country which extends from the Atlantic to, in fact, the Pacific coast, and which is now beginning to assume—nay, which is already making rapid strides towards assuming—that position in the estimation of the European and American world to which its vast extent and immense resources entitle it. I believe that few among us are by any means so familiar as we ought to be with the extent, capabilities, and actual position of the Lower Provinces, and of the dependencies of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island. Their geographical position, their actual relations towards us, and the probability of their future closer alliance with Canada, give importance to such considerations, and justify me, a British American by birth, in to-night, before this colonial audience, dealing with questions deeply affecting the future of a great colonial empire. Providence has cast our lot in a land destined to be a great one. It cannot be time mis-spent to consider its present, to speculate as to its future, or even to imitate the example of our good cousins across the lines, and boast a little of our country, our progress, and our rapid advance in all that constitutes the real greatness of a nation.

The subject is indeed an inviting one, thus to trace from infancy the rise and progress of what are now thickly populated Provinces; and many suggestive thoughts crowd upon the mind as it dwells upon the contemplation. Time will not permit my entering upon many of these; but I cannot refrain from a passing allusion to the proud position which Britain holds in regard to her colonial empire. Strange, is it not, how the mixed population of that, according to our cis-Atlantic ideas, little country, should have so disseminated themselves and built up great colonies—New Britains in all parts of the habitable globe. The triple cord which binds together the English, Irish, and Scotch into one great people, who yet preserve to a considerable extent their national characteristics in support of the British Constitution and of civil and religious liberty has given to Britain her immense power and her proud position. Swarms of her dense population have been drafted into the Old World and the New. Millions of people acknowledge her sway. Australia and British America, deriving from Britain their religions, their literature, their language, and their national characteristics, rival each other in the magnitude of their resources and in the rapidity of their development; and the impress of the British mind is stamped upon and reproduced, in what are in the lapse of time destined eventually to be great kindred nations, bound together by the ties of origin and by parental and filial affection. India, too, that great country towards which our sympathies are now so warmly turned—that vast battle-field on which is even now going on the stern contest between light, civilization and liberty, on the

one hand, and the fierce fanaticism and blind hate of the proud Mussulman and the cringing but subtle and cruel Hindoo on the other—will still more and more be moulded by the influence of British energy and enlightenment, and will yet add a brilliant ornament to the crown which graces the temples of the Queen of Hindostan.* Aye, and on this continent a young but vigorous nation owes her origin to and derives her national features from Old Britain, and, though to some extent temporarily alienated from the Parent State, and obscured by internal discords and the dark blot of slavery,† will yet, I doubt not, in the evolution of the world's history and the wondrous passing changes of events, be found, with India, Australia and British America, combining with Britain in the defence of great constitutional principles, and in the maintenance of the world's liberty.

But I must revert from this passing allusion to the greatness of that Colonial Empire of which we form a part, and which is rising up to national importance under the shade of the British flag, to the consideration of the British North

* The visit of the Prince of Wales to India, and the conferring on Her Majesty the Queen of England of the title of "Empress of India," are evidences of the high estimate placed by the British people on the possession of that country.

† As the reader is aware, s avery no longer exists in the United States, having been abolished during the great rebellion of 1861-'65. By an Act of Congress passed 13th March, 1862, the employment of military force for the return of fugitive slaves was forbidden; and on the 16th July in the same year an Act was passed authorizing the confiscation of the property of rebels, including slaves. On 1st January, 1863, President Lincoln's famous Emancipation Proclamation appeared, and the work of mancipation was completed by the adoption, in 1865, of Article XIII. of the Amendments to the Constitution, which declares that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

American Colonial Empire. And in dealing with the question it shall be my aim to treat the subject popularly, avoiding statistics except when they may be absolutely required in illustration or explanation. I shall successively pass in brief review the Province of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, the Labrador coast, and the Islands of Newfoundland and Prince Edward. New Brunswick will next claim notice; and passing on, the neglected Island of Anticosti —as large, it may be observed, as Prince Edward Island— and our own Canada, will be considered. I shall then, pointing merely to the great undeveloped North-West and Pacific regions, including the Red River country, the Saskatchewan and Peace River Territories, British Columbia and Vancouver Island, leave my readers to form their own impressions of the correctness of those hopes as to our future which colonists, whose all and whose destiny are here, are fain to cherish, as in the pride of their hearts they exclaim,

"This is my own, my native land!"

The early history of Nova Scotia, from its discovery to its final cession to the British by the Treaty of Versailles, is a chequered and eventful one; but our time will not permit our tracing in detail the stirring annals of Acadia. The early history of those discoveries which led to the settlement of British America may however be glanced at.

EARLY DISCOVERIES.

To arrive at a tolerably correct outline of the result of those eventful explorations, it will be well to consider that since Southern Oregon and Upper California have been

absorbed into the United States, the continent of North America may be divided into four great sections, viz.:

The Russian Territory on the north-west,*

The British Dominions on the north,

The United States in the centre,

And on the south, Mexico and Central America, uniting with South America. The most remarkable features of both North and South America are rivers and mountains, the former for their size and number, the latter for their size and position, running in an unbroken chain from the northern to the southern extremity, having on the east side an immense breadth of country open to the rivers—four of which, the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the Amazon, and the La Plata, are among the largest in the world—and but a narrow strip to the west, wider in the northern than in the southern continent.

Such is the vast expanse developed by the flood-tide of discovery which, towards the end of the fifteenth century, bore Columbus to the New World. In October, 1492, Columbus discovered one of the Bahama Islands, and afterwards the continent itself. The success of the Spanish stimulated the enterprise of the British, and in May, 1497, in the reign of Henry VII., John Cabot and his son Sebastian sailed from Bristol, in the hope of finding a western passage to India.† While pursuing a westerly course, in the hope of reaching

* Now Alaska, purchased from Russia by the United States, in 1867, for $7,200,000.

† So say the histories, which are all, directly or indirectly, founded upon the account in Hakluyt. Recent researches seem to render it doubtful whether John Cabot formed one of the expedition, though the weight of testimony is in favour of his having done so. See, on this subject, Biddle's *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*; Londo 31.

the China seas, they saw land on the 24th of June. This they called Prima Vista, and it is believed to have been a part of either Labrador, Nova Scotia, or Newfoundland. As Galvanus says that this land was in latitude 45°, it is extremely probable that the expedition, in coasting, had entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence. During this part of their voyage they discovered an island which they called St. John, now Prince Edward Island. They then steered south to Florida. England therefore claimed America by discovery and possession. The French next visited the continent, and various expeditions coasted along the shores from Newfoundland to Florida. In 1534 Jacques Cartier landed at Bay Chaleurs, and took possession in the name of the King of France. In 1579 an attempt was made by the British, under a charter from Queen Elizabeth, to colonize the Western World. The French followed them in 1598, under De La Roche; but the early attempts were very calamitous, and the hold obtained upon the country was slight. In 1621 James I. granted all the country now comprised in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, together with Newfoundland, to Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling; and in 1628 Charles I. added another grant, *including Canada and the chief part of the United States.* An Order of Baronets was created, each of whom was to receive 16,000 acres of land, and was to take seizin on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh—Nova Scotia being included in the county of that name. In 1629 Britain took possession of Cape Breton, and held all this part of America; but attaching little importance to it, Charles I., by the Treaty of St. Germains, in 1632, resigned to Louis XIII. his right to New France.

The progress of settlement went on. Cromwell reconquered Nova Scotia, for the third time, in 1654; but in 1667 Charles II. relinquished Acadia to France. In 1710 New England conquered Nova Scotia, at an expense of £23,000, by an expedition which sailed from Boston. By the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, all Acadia or Nova Scotia was ceded to Great Britain, and it has ever since remained a portion of the British Empire. New Brunswick was then included within its limits. In 1745 Cape Breton was conquered by the Provincial troops. It was restored to France in 1749, but it again, in 1758, became the property of Britain. The settlement proper of Nova Scotia may be said to have commenced in 1759. The subjugation of Prince Edward Island took place in 1761. I pass by, as more familiar to my hearers, the early history, colonization, and settlement of Canada; merely remarking that in 1763, by the Treaty of Versailles, France resigned all her claims in North America to Britain.

Such, then, is a compressed outline of the leading events in the earlier history of this portion of British North America; and it is now time to glance at the position of Nova Scotia and the other Provinces, which were once so undervalued that on Champlain's return to France he found the minds of people divided with regard even to Canada, some thinking it not worth possessing.

NOVA SCOTIA.

The Province of Nova Scotia now includes Cape Breton, from which it is severed by the Straits of Canso. Nova

Scotia proper, says Andrews,* is a long peninsula, nearly wedge-shaped, connected at its eastern and broadest extremity with the continent of America by an isthmus only fifteen miles wide. This narrow slip of land separates the waters of the Bay of Fundy from those of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The peninsula, 280 miles in length, fronts the Atlantic Ocean.

The island of Cape Breton is a singularly formed network of streams and lakes, and it is separated into two parts, with the exception of an isthmus but 767 yards wide, by the Bras d'Or Lake, an arm of the sea. The most remarkable feature in the peninsula of Nova Scotia is the numerous indentations along its coasts. A vast and uninterrupted body of water, impelled by the trade wind from the coast of Africa to the American continent, forms a current along the coast till it strikes the Nova Scotian shore with great force, and its tremendous tides of sixy or seventy feet in height roll up the Bay of Fundy, which bounds Nova Scotia on the north-west. The harbours of Nova Scotia on its Atlantic coast are unparalleled in the world. Between Halifax and Cape Canso there are twelve ports capable of receiving ships of the line, and fourteen others of sufficient depth for merchantmen. The peninsula of Nova Scotia is supposed to contain 9,534,196 acres, and including Cape Breton, 12,000,000. The country is undulating, and abounds with lakes. It is possessed of valuable mineral wealth, including large fields of coal. In 1849, 208,000 chaldrons were

* See his *Report on the Trade and Commerce of the British North American Provinces*, Washington, 1851.

shipped to the States.* The other minerals which are turned to economic uses are iron, manganese, gypsum, etc.†

The western and milder section of Nova Scotia is distinguished for its productiveness in fruits. Wheat grows well in the eastern and in the central parts. In 1851, 297,157 bushels were raised,‡ of which 186,497 were grown in Sydney, Pictou, Colchester and Cumberland, a fact which shows the superiority of that section of the Province for the growth of wheat—a peculiarity which extends along the whole north-eastern shore of New Brunswick to the boundary of Canada. Oats, hay, pease, beans, potatoes, turnips, etc., are raised in large quantities, and butter and cheese are among the most important commodities of domestic manufacture. The character of Nova Scotia for farm stock is good. My hearers may be surprised to learn that the Province exceeds fourteen wheat-growing States and Territories of the American Union in the growth of wheat and barley; and all the States and Territories in oats, buckwheat, potatoes, hay and butter. The trade of Nova Scotia is large. In 1850 its imports were five millions of dollars, and its exports three millions.§ In

* Of late years the export trade in coal from Nova Scotia to the United States has not been large, owing to the imposition there of an import duty of 75c. per ton; but the total sale of coal in the Province during 1882 reached a grand total of 1,250,179 tons. The total production during the year was 1,365,811 tons. During the preceding year the sales were 1,035,014 tons. The demand is rapidly increasing, and the trade must ere long assume immense proportions.

† Gold is also found in Nova Scotia, and according to the census the yield from the gold mines of that Province during 1882 was 15,167 ounces.

‡ Mark the advancement in twenty nine years. In 1880—the latest year for which we have complete returns—the yield of spring wheat alone in Nova Scotia was 522,-602 bushels. The winter wheat crop was 6,649 bushels, making a total of 529,251 bushels.

§ By reference to the Trade and Navigation returns for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1882, it will be seen that the imports of the Province of Nova Scotia for the

its general and fishing trade it employs a large marine, which must prove a fruitful nursery for seamen. In 1851 there were 3,228 vessels entered inwards, and 3,265 outwards.* In 1851 the Province had a fishing fleet of 812 vessels, manned by 3,681 men, and the number of boats engaged was 5,161.† The total value of its fisheries for 1851 exceeded a million of dollars ‡. The population of the Province was, according to the last census, 276,117 souls.§ There were, in 1851, 1,096 schools and 31,354 scholars.|| Nova Scotia has reclaimed by dykes many thousands of acres of land. Cape Breton, too, has a large trade, produces large quantities of fish, and there is mined besides a considerable amount of coal.

NEWFOUNDLAND.¶

lies on the north-east side of the entrance to the St. Lawrence, and is separated from Canada by the Gulf. Its south-west point approaches Cape Breton within about forty-six

preceding twelve months were of the following values: On dutiable goods, $6,889,508; on free goods, $1,812,081. Total imports for the year, $8,701,589. The total exports for the same period were of the value of $9,217,295.

* The number of vessels entered inwards between 30th June, 1881, and 30th June, 1882, was 5,361; outwards, 4,930.

† Late returns show the number of Nova Scotian vessels, boats and men engaged in the fishing trade as follows: vessels, 755; boats, 13,214; men, inclusive of shoremen as well as those employed in boats and vessels, 26,927.

‡ The present value is fully proportionate to the number of vessels, boats and men employed, as indicated in the preceding note.

§ The population in 1881 was 440,572.

|| The number of schools in progress during the winter term ending 30th April, 1882, was 1,820. During the following summer the number increased to 1,910. Number of pupils during the winter term, 76,888; during the summer term, 81,196. Total number of different pupils throughout the year, 95,912.

¶ Newfoundland has not yet entered the Dominion. She sent two representatives to the Quebec Conference in 1864, but for some time afterwards was apathetic to the Confederation scheme. In 1869 both branches of the Local Legislature passed resolutions in favour of entering the Union, and soon afterwards delegates

miles. The Straits of Belle Isle to the north and north-west separate it from the shores of Labrador, and the Atlantic washes it on the east. It is triangular in form, broken by bays, creeks, and estuaries. Its circuit is 1000 miles. Its breadth at the widest is 300 miles, its extreme length 419. From the sea it has a wild, sterile appearance. It is rugged in character, hills and valleys succeeding each other. It comprises woods, marshes and barrens; the woods clothing the sides and summits of the hills, and the valleys and low lands. The trees are pine, spruce, fir, larch, and birch. Recently in the survey of the Atlantic Telegraph, pine of most excellent quality was found in the interior of the island. The marshes are not necessarily low or level land, but are often undulated and elevated a considerable height above the sea. They are open tracts covered with moss. The barrens are exposed elevated tracts, covered with scanty vegetation. The most remarkable general feature of the country is the great abundance of lakes, which are found even on the tops of the hills. In fact, it is estimated that one third of the surface of the whole island is covered with fresh water. The area is 23,040,000 acres.* Fishing has employed the population

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proceeded to Ottawa to arrange terms. "The negotiations give rise to little difficulty, but at the ensuing elections the people of the colony declared against the project, which to this day remains in abeyance." See *The Last Forty Years*, Vol. II., page 489. As Newfoundland therefore forms no part of the Dominion, it has not been deemed necessary to bring down the statistics to the present time.

* The geological survey of Newfoundland has disclosed a good many important and unanticipated facts with respect to the character of the land in the interior, much of which is represented as being prairie, and admirably suited to the purposes of agriculture. The fisheries, however, have hitherto engrossed public attention, to the practical exclusion of agricultural pursuits. The construction of the Newfoundland Railway, from St. John's to Harbour Grace, marks an epoch in the history

chiefly, and not over 200,000 acres are under cultivation. The climate too is variable, its vicissitudes being great. Spring comes on more slowly than in Canada. Summer is shorter, and the winter is made up of a series of storms, winds, rain and snow. The last rarely remains long on the ground, and the frost is never so intense as in Western Canada. This arises no doubt from its insular position. The population in 1852 was 125,000, of whom 30,000 were directly engaged in the fisheries.* In 1845, 9,900 boats were engaged in the fisheries. The annual value of the produce of the colony has been estimated at $6,000,000, and the value of the property engaged in the fisheries at $2,500,000. The exports in 1851 were $4,801,000, employing 1013 vessels. The imports were $4,455,180. Newfoundland exported in that year to Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the Brazils, to the extent of $1,500,000. The fisheries carried on are cod, the great staple, and the herring, mackerel, salmon, whale, and seal fisheries.

The principal town of Newfoundland is St. John's. It is alleged that a fast steamer could cross from thence to Galway in five days. It is distant from Ireland but 1665 miles. Its geographical position is very important, and its fisheries are a source of inexhaustible wealth. It carries on a large foreign trade, including an extensive one with the West Indies.

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of the island. Of this railway, forty-five miles had been constructed some months ago, and trains were regularly running from St. John's to Holyrood. The remaining twenty miles were graded, and at the present time that portion of the road is either completed, or in course of immediate completion. A perfect network of railways is also projected to traverse the Island from point to point, though it is doubtful whether they will be proceeded with for some time to come.

* In 1874 the population was 161,436, and at present is believed to be not far short of 200,000. Other statistics have increased fully in proportion to the population.

Of the Labrador coast little is known. It was at one time included in Canada, but was re-annexed to Newfoundland in 1808.* It has a sea-coast of over 100 miles, and is frequented during summer by 20,000 persons. This vast country, equal in extent to France, Spain, and Germany, has a resident population of 9000 souls, including the Esquimaux and the Moravians. The climate is very severe, but the sea on its shores teems with wealth. Seals and salmon are plentiful, and the furs of the former are very valuable. The exports are cod, herring, salmon, sealskins, cod and seal oil, furs and feathers. Andrews, from the best data at his command, states that the exports from this coast are of the annual value of $2,784,000; but they are by some estimated as high as $4,000,000. Its imports are $600,000 per annum.†

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.‡

I now glance at Prince Edward Island, which is situated in a deep recess on the western side of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It is separated from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia by the Straits of Northumberland, which at the narrowest are only nine miles wide. The island is crescent-shaped, 130 miles in length, and at its greatest breadth thirty-

* Speaking generally, Labrador now forms part of the Dominion, but a portion of the coast is for certain purposes still subject to the government of Newfoundland. The portion so subject is thus defined in the Letters Patent granted 28th March, 1876: "All the coast of Labrador from the entrance to the Hudson's Straits to a line to be drawn due north and south from Anse Sablon on the said coast to the fifty-second degree of north latitude, and all the islands adjacent to that part of the said coast of Labrador." The rest is incorporated in the Province of Quebec.

† For reasons stated in the last note, the statistics of Labrador are now included in those of Quebec and Newfoundland.

‡ Prince Edward Island entered the Dominion July 1st, 1873.

four miles. The east point is twenty-seven miles from Cape Breton, and 125 from Cape Ray, Newfoundland. It is a level country, well adapted for agricultural purposes. Wheat, oats and barley are the staple products. Its area is 2134 square miles. In 1848 the population was 62,678.* The climate is neither so cold in winter nor so hot in summer as in Lower Canada. One drawback to the progress of the island has been the holding of the land by non-resident landlords.† From the productiveness and other advantages of the soil, it might, says Monro,‡ easily sustain 1,000,000 persons. There are 231 schools in the island, supported by a tax on real estate, and attended by 9,922 pupils.§ The exports in 1854 were $596,608.|| In 1851, 621 ships were entered inwards, and 621 outwards.¶ The island is believed to have been discovered by Cabot in 1497.** In 1761 it became permanently a territory of Great Britain.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

I now turn to New Brunswick, which was erected into a Province distinct from Nova Scotia in 1784. Its length is

* The population in 1881 was 108,891.

† This serious drawback has been removed. When Prince Edward Island entered Confederation, in 1873, an annual sum was allowed by the Dominion for the extinction of the claims of landed proprietors under old grants. Two years later Commissioners were appointed to ascertain the value of the estates, the sale whereof was rendered compulsory.

‡ *History, Geography, and Productions of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.* Halifax, 1855.

§ In 1882 the number of schools was 487, and the number of pupils 21,269.

|| The exports for the year ending 30th June, 1882, were $1,887,146. The imports for the same period were $737,321.

¶ During the year ending 30th June, 1882, the total number of vessels entered inwards was 224: outwards, 356.

** See *Ante*, p. 8, note.

190 miles, its breadth 150. It lies nearly in the form of a rectangle, and is bounded on the south-east by the Bay of Fundy and Nova Scotia, on the west by Maine, on the north-west by Canada and the Bay of Chaleurs, on the east by Northumberland Straits and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It contains 32,000 square miles, or 22,000,000 acres, and a population of 210,000 inhabitants.* It has a sea-coast of 400 miles, with many harbours. Its staple trades are ship-building, the fisheries, and the timber trade. Its great agricultural capabilities are only now beginning to be known. The Commissioners appointed by the Imperial Government to survey the line for the proposed railway† from Halifax to Quebec thus speak of New Brunswick in their report, and their testimony is a weighty one:

"Of the climate, soil, and capabilities of New Brunswick it is impossible to speak too highly. There is not a country in the world so beautifully wooded and watered. An inspection of the map will show that there is scarcely a section of it without its streams, from the running brook up to the navigable river. Two thirds of its boundary are washed by the sea; the remainder is embraced by the large rivers the St. John and the Restigouche. The beauty and richness of scenery of this latter river and its branches are rarely surpassed by anything on this continent.

"The lakes of New Brunswick are numerous and most beautiful; its surface is undulating, hill and dale varying up to mountain and valley. It is everywhere, except on a few peaks of the highest mountains, covered with dense forests of the finest growth.

"The country can everywhere be penetrated by its streams. In some parts of the interior, a canoe, by a portage of three or four miles only, can float away either to the Bay of Chaleurs or the Gulf of St. Law-

* The population in 1881 was 321,233.

† The railway here referred to is the Intercolonial, completed and opened in 1876.

rence, or down to St. John and the Bay of Fundy. Its agricultural capabilities and climate are described by Bouchette, Martin and other authors. The country is by them, and most deservedly so, highly praised. For any great plan of emigration or colonization, there is not another British colony which presents such a favourable field as New Brunswick.

"On the surface is an abundant stock of the finest timber, which in the markets of England realizes large sums annually, and affords an unlimited supply to the settler. If the forests should ever become exhausted, there are the coal-fields beneath. The rivers, lakes and sea-coast abound with fish."

Such is the sister Province of New Brunswick; and though I am assured, on undoubted personal authority, that a large extent of her very best agricultural territory reaching onwards to Canada is still a primeval forest, her position in regard to her trade relations is no insignificant one, as will appear from the following statements.

The total imports of New Brunswick in 1851 were $4,852,440, and the exports $3,780,105.* There were 3,058 ships entered inwards, and 2,981 outwards.† The fisheries are valuable, and those in the Bay of Fundy in 1850 realized $263,500.‡ The timber floated down the St. John is very large; the quantity being estimated in 1852 at $1,945,000 § There is room in New Brunswick for a large population. In 1855 there were only 6,000,000 acres of land granted. Of these but 700,000 were under

* The total value of imports for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1882, were $6,707,244, and the total exports for same period, $7,474,407.

† Latest returns show 3,422 vessels entered inwards, and 3,474 outwards]

‡ The total value of fish caught in New Brunswick during the season of 1882 amounted to $3,192,338 85.

§ The total amount realized from the sale of products of the forest in New Brunswick in 1880, was considerably in excess of $8,000,000.

cultivation,* and 11,000,000 acres continued ungranted. As to agricultural capabilities, New Brunswick —strange as the tale may seem—exceeds in wheat fourteen wheat-growing States of the Union, and in barley twenty four out of thirty; in oats, buckwheat, and potatoes, thirty States and Territories; and in butter and hay, all the States. In the growth of potatoes, hay, and oats, Monro asserts that no State in the Union can compete with New Brunswick, whether as regards weight, quality, or quantity. The average produce per imperial acre of wheat is nineteen bushels, of barley twenty-eight, of oats thirty-four, of potatoes 226, and of turnips 456. The value of the agricultural products, exclusive of farm-stock, was estimated in 1854 at £2,000,000.† There were, in 1851, 798 schools, attended by 18,892 children, and in 1853, 24,127.‡ Professor Johnston estimated that the agricultural resources of the Province would enable it to sustain a population of 5,500,000. The climate is similar to our own. The coal-field is very extensive; its area having been estimated by Gesner at 10,000 square miles. The earlier history of New Brunswick is embraced in that of Nova Scotia, and need not here be particularly referred to.

With regard to the position of the Acadian Provinces, their relations towards the other portions of British America, and the community of interest which is arising, I avail my-

* There are now considerably more than a million of acres under cultivation, inclusive of crops, pastures and orchards.

† The total value of New Brunswick products in 1881 was $18,512,058.

‡ During the Winter Term of 1882 the number of schools was 1,317, and the number of pupils in attendance 48,805, of whom 10,350 were new pupils. The total number of different pupils in attendance within the entire year was 64,267.

self of the judicious statements of Principal Dawson of McGill College, in a lecture on the Acadian Provinces, delivered before the Natural History Society of Montreal:—

"Their progress in population and wealth is slow, in comparison with that of western America, though equal to the average of that of the American Union, and more rapid than that of the older States. Their agriculture is rapidly improving, manufacturing and mining enterprises are extending themselves, and railways are being built to connect them with the more inland parts of the continent. Like Great Britain, they possess important minerals, in which the neighbouring parts of the continent are deficient, and enjoy the utmost facilities for commercial pur suits. Ultimately, therefore, they must have with the United States, Canada, and the fur countries, the same commercial relations that Britain maintains with western, central, and northern Europe. Above all, they form the great natural oceanic termination of the great valley of the St. Lawrence; and although its commerce has hitherto, by the skill and industry of its neighbours, been drawn across the natural barrier which Providence has placed between it and the seaports of the United States, it must ultimately take its natural channel; and then not only will the cities on the St. Lawrence be united by the strongest common interests, but they will be bound to Acadia by ties more close than any merely politica union. The great thoroughfares to the rich lands and noble scenery of the West, and thence to the sea-breezes and salt water of the Atlantic, and to the great seats of industry and art in the old world, will pass along the St. Lawrence, and through the lower Provinces. The surplus agricultural produce of Canada will find its nearest consumers among the miners, shipwrights, mariners, and fishermen of Acadia; and they will send back the treasures of their mines and of their sea. This ultimate fusion of all the populations extending along this great river, valley, and estuary, and the establishment throughout its course of one of the principal streams of American commerce, seems in the nature of things inevitable; and there is already a large field for the profitable employment of labourers and capital in accelerating this desirable result."

Giving due attention to these sound and cautious views of a writer thoroughly acquainted with his subject, and him-

self an Acadian, which meet an objection often raised as to the presumed absence of any common objects or community of interest between the Acadian Provinces and Canada, we now advance to the northward of Prince Edward Island. Here we find the Magdalen Islands, under the jurisdiction of Canada, and for electoral purposes included in the County of Gaspé. They are seven in number, and are used as fishing stations. Their population in 1851 was 2500.* These islands are almost in the centre of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the length of the group is fifty-six miles. They are owned by the Coffin family in strict entail.†

Within the Gulf, and at the very threshold of Canada, is the large Island of Anticosti, 420 miles below Quebec. It comprises 2,000,000 of acres. It has been till lately owned in England, but has been much neglected.‡ It is believed to contain much arable land, and is well wooded. It should be no longer overlooked, as its position is very important, and it may become an important *entrepôt* of trade.

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* Now about 3600

† They were originally granted by the British Government to an officer who subsequently became Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, who bequeathed them in strict entail to his nephew. In 1873 the Quebec Legislature contemplated buying out the claim of the then proprietor, as many of the islanders were dissatisfied with the uncertain tenure of their lands, and emigrated from the islands in consequence.

‡ The island of Anticosti was originally granted by King Louis XIV. to Louis Joliet, the eminent explorer. It subsequently passed into the hands of various persons. Upon the abolition of the feudal system in Canada, the island passed under the domination of the Seigneur, or lord of the manor, and it has since been held in fee simple by a great many different owners, chief among whom may be mentioned the Forsyth family. The title was fully acknowledged by the Canadian Parliament, and in 1873 an Act was passed incorporating an association called the Anticosti Land Company, to develop the resources of the island. Among other improvements the establishment of a number of prosperous farms was contemplated. The success of the enterprise has not yet been fully assured.

CANADA.

And now we have arrived at our own fair Canada. I shall not weary you with a long detail of dry and dull figures; you can find those elsewhere. But the mind naturally dwells with pleasure on the contemplation of the rapid rise, steady growth, present prosperity, and brilliant future of this our country. Canada, with her population of 2,500,000,* her steady flow of immigration, her rising manufactures, her mineral wealth, her agricultural advantages, her magnificent system of inland navigation afforded by her canals and her new Mediterranean, her great railway (the longest in the world),† her highway to Europe, and her successful ocean-line of steamers,‡ is bounding on with fresh vigour, and steadily assuming the proportions of a great and prosperous land. Canada is no longer looked upon as a dismal, dreary waste of snow-clad hills. Our representations at the Universal Exhibitions have dispelled many a prejudice, and the people of Europe and of Britain have learned to regard our country as a home where, free from the keener competition of the Old World, and sheltered under the protecting power of Britain, men can work their

* It will be understood that Canada at that time consisted only of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. The united population of those two Provinces in 1881 was 2,812,367. The population of the entire Dominion, according to the census of 1881, was then 4,324,810; and cannot now be much under 4,500,000.

† The reference here is to the Grand Trunk Railway, and the statement was accurate at the time it was written. The subsequent construction of the American transcontinental lines left the Grand Trunk considerably behind in respect of length; but our own Canada Pacific Railway, now steadily advancing towards completion, will be not only the longest but in various respects the most important railway enterprise in the world.

‡ The tonnage of sea-going vessels arriving at the port of Montreal alone during the season of 1882 was considerably in excess of 700,000.

way to independence and comfort, and see their families taking positions of respectability around them. Here we have scope and verge enough. Our population of 2,500,000 has an extent about six times that of England and Wales for its expansion, and very surely and steadily is our population augmenting. How rapid that augmentation has been will appear, on the most impartial testimony, from the following extract from *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* for February last :—

"When it is remembered that in 1848 the population of United Canada was about 1,500,000, the rate of increase in ten years is indeed something to boast of. Two-thirds added to the population of a country with such variety of soil and climate, in that time, is without precedent. The increase of the United States during the ten years ending 1850 was 35½ per cent., that of Upper Canada during the ten years from 1841 to 1851, 104½ per cent., and now for the whole Province, since 1848, it is 65 to 70 per cent., or nearly double the rate of increase of the United States. The third of a century is generally reckoned as a generation. During that period the population of Canada has increased from 582,000 to 2,500,000, or more than twice doubled itself. If that rate be continued, Canada will have at the beginning of the next century 20,000,000 of inhabitants."

And then, as an outlet for our population, and as a legitimate field for the development of the energies of our people, beyond us lies that great stretch of territory of which the newly chosen Seat of Government holds the key—the Ottawa Valley, with its 80,000 square miles of country, through which the Atlantic and Pacific Railway will yet take its course,* and the products of the Western States seek the seaboard when the Ottawa navigation shall have been improved.

* The Canadian reader will not need to be informed that this prediction has been fully verified in the line of the Canada Pacific Railway.

RUPERT'S LAND.

Above us, again, is that vast expanse claimed by the Hudson's Bay adventurers, which will yet, and possibly soon, be inhabited by a large population, comprising as it does, 3,060,000 square miles.

This great country cannot much longer remain unoccupied; and if we do not proceed to settle it the Americans will appropriate it, as they did Oregon. Without entering into the question of the alleged vices in the charter by which that powerful company holds its possessions, and the mode of adjudicating thereon, there are certain practical measures which should be at once adopted. A means of communication by road and water, for summer and winter use, should be opened between Lake Superior and the Red River settlement; and that settlement should be placed under the jurisdiction of Canada, with power to this Province to colonize the territory.* This power should at once be given, and will doubtless be conceded on application. This obtained, and a settlement of 7,000 souls added to our population as a centre of operations, steps can be taken for obtaining more accurate information as to the nature of the immense tract of territory, of which a large part once belonged to the Hundred Partners of Old France, and which, though believed to be the property of Canada, is now held by the Hudson's Bay Company. The great valley

* Rupert's Land, as the reader is aware, now forms part of the Dominion, and one portion of it (including Red River settlement) has been erected into the Province of Manitoba, with a Local Legislature, and with representation in the general Parliament at Ottawa. The other recommendations in the text have also become realities. The Dawson Route was but the precursor of the C.P.R.

of the Saskatchewan should form the subject of immediate attention. Enough is known to satisfy us that in the territory commonly known as the Hudson's Bay Territory there is a vast region well adapted for becoming the residence of a large population. Once the Red River settlement is opened to our commerce, a wide field extends before our enterprise; and those who recollect or have otherwise become familiar with the struggles, forty years ago, of the settlers in Western Canada, and the painful, toilsome warfare with which they conquered that rising portion of the Province from the wilderness, will regard the task of colonization as a comparatively light one.

The press has for some time been teeming with articles on the subject of this Territory, and has done good service thereby; and, though there is not opportunity here to enter upon the subject at length, yet, while not going so far as those who would paint all that Territory—some of it bleak and inhospitable enough—as a Paradise, I hesitate not to assert that there are many millions of acres richly arable, and possessed of a climate milder than our own. In proof of this position I will say a word or two as to the Red River country, in which Lord Selkirk's settlement was planted, taking as recent and trustworthy authorities the Reverend John Ryerson* and Mr. John Wesley Bond.† The Red River settlement is 700 miles distant from Fort William, on Lake Superior, by the travelled way, but a route of 456 miles can be opened.‡ The Red River rises in Minnesota, and run-

* See *Hudson's Bay; or a Missionary Tour in the Territory of the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company.* Toronto, 1853.

† See *Minnesota and Its Resources.* New York, 1855.

‡ About the actual length of the present route.

ning northward, discharges into Lake Winnipeg. The Assiniboine River rises far west of the Red River, and forms a junction with it fifty-five miles from the mouth of the latter.* The English and Scotch settlers extend along both sides of Red River from the Assiniboine to Lower Fort Garry, twenty miles below. This is far the best post of the settlement. Eighteen windmills are scattered along the west bank, upon which the villages are principally situated.

Sir George Simpson, in his *Overland Journey*, says :—

"The soil of the Red River is a black mould of considerable depth which, when first tilled, produces extraordinary crops—as much, on some occasions, as forty returns of wheat—and even after twenty successive years of cultivation, without the relief of manure or of fallow or of green crop, it still yields from fifteen to twenty-five bushels per acre. The wheat produced is plump and heavy. There are also large quantities of grain of all kinds, besides beef, mutton, pork, butter, cheese and wool, in abundance."

As to the character of this settlement, Ryerson says :—

"The soil is of black mould, and the settlement yields good crops of wheat, barley, oats, pease, and potatoes. The spacious prairies afford pasture in the open season, and furnish abundance of hay for the winter. Over the boundless pastures roam thousands of sheep, black cattle, and horses. There is however no export trade in the colony. The Hudson's Bay Company pay for what they wish to consume, and thus afford the only market. The wheat is ground by windmills. There are no saw-mills, fulling-mills, or factories of any kind. A large portion of the settlers are hunters, and the number of buffaloes in the Hudson's Bay Territory is immense. The settlers have many difficulties to contend with."

Hear, again, another authority (whose zealous discharge

* At what was then Fort Garry, the residence of the Hudson's Bay Company's Governors, and, till a few weeks past, the official residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. The Canadian reader is of course aware that the place is now the City of Winnipeg, with a population of more than 20,000.

of his duties led him to visit Prince Rupert's Land) as to the Red River settlement. The former Bishop of Montreal, now Bishop of Quebec,* in 1844, said :—

"The soil, which is alluvial, is beyond example rich and productive, and withal so easily worked that, although it does not quite come up to the description of the Happy Islands, *reddit ubi cererem tellus inerata quot annos*, there is an instance, I was assured, of a farm in which the owner, with comparatively light labour in the preparatory processes, had taken a wheat crop out of the same land for eighteen successive years, never changing the crop, never manuring the land, and never suffering it to lie fallow, and that the crop was abundant to the last; and with respect to the pasture and hay, they are to be had *ad libitum*, as nature gives them in the open plains."

These testimonies have lately received the most entire corroboration. Professor Hind, in his report to the Canadian Government of his visit there, in the summer of last year, fully confirms all these statements. He describes the valley of the Red River, and a large portion of the country on its affluent, as a "Paradise of fertility." He finds it "impossible to speak of it in any other terms than those which may express astonishment and admiration." He states that "the character of the soil cannot be surpassed, and that all kinds of farm produce common in Canada succeed admirably in the district of the Assiniboia;" and declares emphatically that "as an agricultural country it will one day rank among the most distinguished."

Such, then, is that little colony composed of Scottish Highlanders and their descendants, and of French Canadians, which is even now a petitioner at the portals of our Legislature for admission to those inherent rights of free

* The late Bishop Mountain.

self-government which every Briton inherits as a birthright, and which the statesmen of Britain have learned—and I doubt not Canadian politicians have had their share in the inculcation of the lesson—to concede to British subjects in all territories under the sway of the royal sceptre. Colonial Government has in our days assumed a new phase. It must, to continental eyes, have been a strange spectacle—as it was in our view a noble one—that was presented when the assent of the little colony of Newfoundland was required to give validity to a solemn treaty agreed to between two of the mightiest of European nations; and stranger still, to see that little colony resolutely vetoing the arrangement. * This result must have grated harshly on the feelings of Imperial Military France. But it should be viewed by colonists as a convincing proof of the readiness of the Parent State to act justly by her colonial children; and with such a precedent before us, can we doubt as to whether the rights of these Red River colonists will be protected, if properly urged and sustained by Canada?

Imperial as well as colonial interests urgently demand the opening up of that vast stretch of rich agricultural territory of which the Red River "holds the key." Apart from the arable areas on the highway between Canada and the Red River, that settlement forms a nucleus round which will gather a dense population scattered over those vast prairies, covered with the rankest luxuriance of vegetation, and holding out to settlers rich inducements to go in and possess the land. Should such a "Paradise of fertility" as this remain longer locked up? Will the gathering of a few peltries

* The arrangement referred to was the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854.

compensate for the withdrawal of such a region from the industry of our race? Assuredly not. The knell of arbitrary rule has been rung. The day has gone by for the perpetuation of monopolies. The Baronets of Nova Scotia would fare but ill in our times, unless moral worth accompanied their rank. Provinces are not so lightly shared and parcelled out as they once were. As for our own Province, self-government has been conceded to us, and the largest measure of political liberty is enjoyed by our people. We are left to carve out our own destiny; and I shrewdly suspect that few among us will regard with much admiration that ancient and venerable parchment which, under the sign-manual of Charles II., by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, recites that he, "being desirous to promote all endeavours tending to the public good of our people, have of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, given, granted, ratified, and confirmed unto our entirely beloved cousin Prince Rupert, the Duke of Albermarle, *et al.*, by the name of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, the sole trade and commerce of all those seas, streights, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall lie, within the entrance of the streights commonly called Hudson's Streights; together with all the lands and territories upon the countries, coasts, and confines of the seas, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks, and sounds aforesaid, that are not already actually possessed by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State, with the fishing of all sorts of fish, whales, sturgeons, and all other royal fishes in the seas, bays, islets, and rivers within the premises, and the fish

therein taken, together with the royalty of the sea upon the coasts within the limits aforesaid, and all mines royal, as well discovered as not discovered, of gold, silver, gems, and precious stones, to be found or discovered within the territories aforesaid." And what think you is the price which this charter provides shall be paid for this munificent, this princely gift of, as the Hudson's Bay Company view it, half a continent—for this comprehensive donation of everything, but the sky, which overhangs Prince Rupert's Land. Ah, here it is, and very onerous and burdensome this same company of adventurers must have found their vassalage to be—"yielding and paying," saith this grave title-deed, with which the onward rush of settlement is attempted to be stayed—somewhat, it must be confessed, after the fashion of the celebrated Mrs. Partington when, mop in hand, she valiantly endeavoured to sweep out the incursion of the angry Atlantic—"yielding and paying to us, our heirs and successors, for the same, two elks and two black beavers"—not yearly, mark you, but magnanimously—"whensoever, and as often as we, our heirs and successors, shall happen to enter into the said countries, territories, and regions hereby granted;" and then, by all sorts of right lawyerly phrases, not only "the whole, entire, and only trade and traffic and use and privilege of trading" is granted, but also "the whole trade to and with all the natives and people inhabiting, or which *shall inhabit*, within the territories, lands, and coasts aforesaid;" and all sorts of pains and penalties are threatened against all those who do visit, haunt, frequent, or trade, traffic or adventure into the said countries; and all such shall, saith the Royal Charles, "incur our Royal indignation,

and the forfeiture and loss of any goods or merchandize" conveyed from the said territories into the realm of England. But time does not permit the dwelling longer on this relic of antiquity. It will suffice to express my confident belief that Canada has only to express in firm but respectful tones her demands as to that vast territory, and these will be cheerfully acceded to by Great Britain. Those demands should be ripely considered, and so matured as to evince, not a mere grasping thirst of territorial aggrandizement, but a large-spirited and comprehensive appreciation of the requirements of the country, and a proper sense of the responsibilities to be assumed in regard to the well-being of the native and other inhabitants, and the due development of the resources of the territory. In such a spirit our statesmen will I trust be found acting. The position of our Province, too, is to be weighed. To a large portion of the territory we have an indubitable legal claim; to another portion the Crown of Britain would be entitled; but all that is adapted for settlement should be placed under the jurisdiction of representative government, and any further extension of the rights of the Company to trade in the more northerly regions should be subjected to the approval or control of colonial authorities.* The subject is not without its difficulties; but, I doubt not, these can all be satisfactorily overcome, and the interests of the whole Empire imperiously demand their prompt and satisfactory adjustment.

* The negotiations which finally led to the absorption of the North-West by the Dominion proved the soundness of the lecturer's views as propounded in the text. Indeed the entire history of the surrender of the Territory by the Hudson's Bay Company to the Imperial Government, and of the subsequent acquisition thereof by the Dominion, forms a striking commentary upon these passages in the lecture.

VANCOUVER ISLAND.

But now, to hasten on to the end of this our long journey. Traversing the country stretching towards the Pacific, you will find the climate gradually becoming milder as we approach the ocean. And we have at length reached the Pacific, and Vancouver Island, a British possession, improvidently leased to the Hudson's Bay Company, whose lease will expire in 1859.* "This splendid island," says Nicolay, "is in form long and narrow; in length about 250 miles, in average breadth 50; with a surface of upwards of 12,000 square miles. A range of lofty hills extends through its whole length; and it is perhaps even more fertile, and has more open glades and land fit for cultivation than the southern continental shore. Its western side is pierced by deep canals, and it has many excellent harbours. It has beautiful rivers of water, and clumps and groves of trees are scattered through the level lands. The Hudson's Bay Company have here established a large cattle farm and post called Victoria.† At the northern extremity of the island there is a large and excellent field of coal." Iron, copper and silver, according to Spanish writers, are found there; and gold, according to more recent accounts. Martin, the apologist of the Hudson's Bay

* In 1858 British Columbia, and in 1859, Vancouver Island, was erected into a Crown Colony, and each had a separate government until 1866, when the latter was united to the former. In 1871 British Columbia was admitted into the Canadian Union, and now has a Local Government and Legislature, and representation in the Parliament at Ottawa. The area of British Columbia (including Vancouver Island) has been roughly estimated at 220,000 square miles, and in 1881 the Province had a population of 49,459. The total value of imports for the year ending 30th June, 1882, was $2,599,186, and of exports, $3,154,194.

† The "large cattle farm and post" is now a beautiful city, with palatial residences on some of its streets, and with a population of between 6,000 and 7,000.

Company's regime, testifies to the excellence of the climate of the island, and to its adaptation for the cultivation of wheat and other grains. He adds that

"The position, resources and climate of Vancouver Island eminently adapt it for being the Britain of the Northern Pacific. There is no port between the Straits of Juan de Fuca and San Francisco; it is within a week's sail of California; within double that distance from the Sandwich Islands, with which a thriving trade has already been established; five days' voyage from Sitka or New Archangel, the head-quarters of the Russian Fur Company's settlements, where large supplies of provisions are required; and it is within three weeks' steaming distance of Japan. This commanding position justifies the expectation that Vancouver Island will become, not only a valuable agricultural settlement, but also a rich commercial *entrepôt* for British trade and industry."*

He also adds that "whether it be possible to establish regular and rapid communication, *via* Canada, with the coast of the Pacific, remains to be ascertained;" and concludes with the remark that "by whatever means Vancouver Island be brought within half its present distance of England, great good cannot fail to accrue to the colony and to the Parent State." That desirable result is, I trust, not very far distant, and I elsewhere point out the mode of its attainment.†

GENERAL RESULTS.

And now, my hearers, we have travelled in company from the Atlantic to the Pacific. What think you of our journey, and of those Britannic possessions in which your lot is cast? Is there not here the germ of a mighty people? Are

* This passage is to be found in Mr. R. Montgomery Martin's voluminous account on the British Colonies—a work which may now be said to have had its day.

† See *post*, pp. 44, 45.

not these colonies a fitting appanage to the great Empire under whose protection they are being developed? Will they not be, nay I would say are they not *now*, a brilliant jewel in the crown of our beloved and gracious Sovereign Queen Victoria, who so worthily graces her throne?

For, bring together the gross results of our investigations, and what do we find?

1st. That the Maritime Provinces alone comprise 86,000 square miles, and, as we may safely assume, are capable of sustaining a population nearly as great as England—their natural productions and resources being very similar in kind and amount. They are as large as Holland, Greece, Belgium, Portugal and Switzerland, all put together. New Brunswick alone is as large as the Kingdom of Sardinia, and Nova Scotia is larger than Switzerland.

2nd. We have Canada, with her 346,863 square miles of territory,* with her great lakes—which alone comprise an extent of space equal to that of Britain and Wales, and larger in volume than the Caspian Sea—and her railways, canals, agricultural capabilities, rising manufactures, and enterprising people.

And 3rd. We have the North-West Territory of British America, with, according to Arrowsmith, "its 3,060,000 square miles of country, extending from the Pacific Ocean and Vancouver Island along the parallel of 49° north latitude, near the head of Lake Superior, and thence in an easterly direction to the coast of Labrador and the Atlantic." Place all this in one view, and we find that we can endorse

* The area of Canada is now nearly ten times as great as stated in the text, being 3,330,162 square miles.

the views of the Honourable Joseph Howe, when he exclaimed in the Nova Scotian House of Assembly :—

"Beneath, around and behind us, stretching away from the Atlantic to the Pacific, are 4,000,000 square miles of territory. All Europe with its family of nations contains but 3,708,000, or 292,000 miles less. The United States includes 3,300,572 square miles, or 769,128 less than British America. Sir, I often smile when I hear some vain-glorious Republican exclaiming.

'No pent-up Utica contracts our powers;
The whole unbounded continent is ours!'

forgetting that the largest portion does not belong to him at all, but to us the men of the North, whose descendants will control its destinies forever. The whole globe contains but 37,000,000 square miles. We North Americans under the British flag have one ninth of the whole, and this ought to give us ample room and verge enough for the accommodation and support of a countless population."

Then, grouping our population, we have in the organized Provinces three millions of people,* at the lowest computation.

Combining our trade returns, we had in 1851 exports to the extent of twenty-five millions of dollars, and a revenue

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*As stated in a note on a former page, the population of the Dominion in 1881 was 4,324,810. There has been a steady, indeed a rapid, increase in the population of the various Provinces. *Ex. gr.*: in 1841 Upper Canada, or Canada West, contained a population of 465,357. In 1851 the population was 952 004, showing an increase of 104·55 per cent. In 1831 the population of Lower Canada was 511,920. In 1851 it was 890,026, having doubled in twenty years. To view the matter in another aspect, as showing combined progress, in 1851 the population of United Canada was 1,845,265, while in 1857 it was 2,571,437, showing an icrease in five years of 729,172.

Coming down to more recent times, the following tabulation from the last census will doubtless be considered as interesting in itself, and instructive for the sake of comparison, including, as it does, all the Provinces which go to make up the Dominion:—

of £1,153,979 8s. 3d.; but it is now much larger.* The revenue of Canada alone in 1856 was £1,238,666; and then, as nations now-a-days need a safety-valve, like the national debt of England, we too in 1851 had a national debt of £4,691,509, but of which Canada bears the lion's share. In 1856 the direct liability of Canada, incurred for public improvements, was £4,703,303.†

FUTURE PROSPECTS.

If we pass in review the advantages of all these Provinces, the agricultural resources of Canada, its manufacturing capabilities, its mineral wealth, its rising trade, its great means of water communication, its systems of railways, the vast stretch of undeveloped country beyond us; and then the

SUMMARY OF POPULATION.	1871.	1881.	Increase.	Rate per cent.
Prince Edward Island	94 021	108,891	14,870	15 8
Nova Scotia	387,800	440,572	52,772	13 6
New Brunswick	285,594	321,233	35,639	12·4
Quebec	1,191,516	1,359,027	167,511	14·6
Ontario	1,620,851	1,923 228	302,377	18 6
Total	3,579,782	4,152,951	573,169	16·0
Manitoba	18,995	65 954	46,960	247·0
British Columbia	36,247	49,459	13,212	36·3
The Territories	.....	56 446	.....	.....
Total	55,242	171,859	60,172	.....
Grand total for the Dominion	3,635,024	4,324,810	633,341	18·03

* The exports of the Dominion for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1882, amounted to $102,137,203. Imports for same period, $119.410,500. Total exports and imports, $221,556,703. The customs duties collected during the year amounted to $21,708,837.43.

† For the year ending 30th June, 1882, the revenue of the Dominion was $33,383,455.52. The expenditure for the same period was $27,067,103.58—leaving a surplus of $6,316,351.94. The public debt was $205,365,257.97.

agricultural resources and capabilities of New Brunswick, and its maritime facilities, the commanding position of Nova Scotia, its coal fields and extensive fisheries, the mind is most favorably impressed with the magnitude of their combined resources. And to all this when we bring before us the fleet of the Maritime Provinces, and the hosts of sturdy seamen to whom man them, and consider the energetic character inherited by our people, which the fusion of [illegible] from the forest of new territories has developed, and the influence of our climate have rendered [illegible] our present and looking back [illegible] that a great future is before the [illegible] that the day must [illegible] and play a noble part in the world's history, [illegible]

[illegible] of other nations [illegible] for instance, take our [illegible] who would have foretold [illegible] Who would have thought, [illegible] that of the citizens of [illegible] Nay, [illegible] Things in [illegible] that [illegible] England of only [illegible] Here [illegible] and [illegible] should [illegible] the prospect but partial

Surely it is a noble destiny that is before us; and who, as he reflects upon all these things, does not feel an honest pride as he thinks that he too may, in however humble a sphere, or by however feeble an effort, aid in urging on that great destiny? It is not my purpose to trench upon the political in this lecture, nor would it be consistent with the purposes of your society that I should thus interfere with any of those questions of the day which, in one shape or other, are pressing upon the consideration of us all. Yet, in dwelling upon the present and the future of these Provinces, it is impossible to avoid glancing at the question of how that future will be shaped. One of two events, it has been said, is in the course of time likely to occur. Either these Provinces will form a confederation with the American Union, or with a portion of it—a possibility that I believe to be altogether out of every way unbearable—or, what I am sure these gentlemen would unanimously prefer, they will stand together, a great British Confederation, thoroughly imbued with the true principles of liberty, and retaining the character of that great parent country from which their inhabitants have mainly sprung, and rising to power and strength under her guiding influence. I cannot be mistaken here. I do not say that such an event is even the most contingency in no more than a mere speculation, nor that I do say that, in the natural course of things, this land will do, sooner or later, as the land to the south, as the land spring to supply the sturdy inhabitants of the forest. That day may be, and I trust it, far distant, but rest assured that whatever, in the ephemeral of the old World and the restless spirit of events, may betide, yet the ties that between our country and the

Parent State will not be rudely severed, but fostered by the power and might of Britain; and rising in strength and power, thousands of strong hands and bold hearts within our borders will cherish towards Britain sentiments of warm affection and attached loyalty, and will be ready, if need be, in the contests for liberty that may arise, to stand side by side in the foremost rank with the armies of our Mother-Land.

There is, indeed, great room for speculation as to the future of this great British Colonial Empire, and its consideration has excited and engrossing the energies of many minds. Another, hear what Senator Seward thinks of it:

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the old [illegible] Here you [illegible] their own

account, or of taking them into partnership with yourself? In the course of nature they must form some connection soon. Shall they seek it with you, the States, or intermarry among themselves, and begin the world on their own hook? These are important questions, and they must be answered soon. . . . Things can't and won't remain long as they are. England has three things to choose for her North American Colonies. 1st, Incorporation with herself and representation in Parliament; 2nd, Independence; and 3rd, Annexation with the States." So said Judge Haliburton, and, true to his colonial feelings, he has been in Britain agitating on behalf of the colonies, and urging their being made an integral portion of the British Empire.[1] But another authority of real weight also maturely considered this subject, and, in his celebrated Report, Lord Durham ably argued the question of a Union of the Provinces, and declared that

[illegible]

[illegible]

Already I am glad to say this instinct of nationality has been aroused. Already our people feel a patriotic pride in the growth of our infant country. It would be a wise policy to cherish and foster this feeling, to enlarge its bounds, to promote intercolonial trade and other intercourse, to develop commerce and manufactures, and to give free scope to those enterprises which will have a tendency to advance these objects. It is not my purpose to enter, as I have said, upon any speculative discussion, and I must not here ask whether a federation or a union of the Provinces be the most desirable. Nor shall I pause now to inquire whether the great North-West territory, now the property of Canada, which is [illegible] to be located on the waters of the Saskatchewan on the Rocky Mountains, or whether two important Provinces, composed partly of the General Government, [illegible] in that great country [illegible] Rocky Mountains, [illegible] and contiguous the [illegible] and the other empire [illegible] and the Pacific slope [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and the prospects [illegible] though it has long been the

West with the East, and is about [illegible] by means of that world's wonder the Victoria Bridge,* and its auxiliary branch to Portland [illegible] to afford Canada unbroken connection with a winter Atlantic port, it is destined to yet further extension. Already we have this Provincial Railway extending from Stratford, above Toronto, to St. Thomas, below Quebec, but it is designed to be prolonged westward to Sarnia, on Lake Huron, and eastward to Trois Pistoles, 100 miles from the New Brunswick frontier. The works on the section between St. Thomas and Rivière du Loup are being urged on with vigour. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, too, are each extending their iron arms to meet the Canadian chain of railway. A line is in progress, under the control of Nova Scotia, designed to extend from Halifax to the New Brunswick frontier, and there New Brunswick purposes to continue it to St. John, the commercial capital of New Brunswick, a distance of [illegible] miles from the Atlantic terminus at Halifax. The American interests, [illegible], are becoming [illegible] this line with Portland, Maine, but a branch is intended to connect the "European and North American Railway" with Miramichi, distant from Rivière du Loup but [illegible] miles.

As the result, then, of these efforts in the Lower Provinces and in Canada, I look for the [illegible] Intercolonial Railway, extending from Lake Huron to the Atlantic at Halifax, passed at a cost of [illegible] millions of [illegible]. But I look further, and I see the

[illegible]

a line of railway will yet pass up the Ottawa Valley, and present, through British territory, a highway to the Pacific.* And hear what a high American authority, quoted by Judge Haliburton, says of this same British American Pacific route:

[illegible]

[illegible] Haliburton.

[illegible]

[illegible]

visions of McTaggart, who was denounced as a madman, and of Major Pye Smith, will be realized, and, in the words of the latter,

"The rich goods of the East will be landed at the commencement of the West, to be forwarded and distributed throughout our North American Colonies, and to be delivered in thirty days at the ports of Great Britain. Then Halifax would be only ten or fifteen days distant from the north west coast of America, whence steamers might be dispatched with the mails from England for Pekin, Canton, Australia, and New Zealand. What rolling treasure will be sure to travel on such a gigantic line of communication as the great national highway from the Atlantic to the Pacific."

Another idea on that might be urged for the superiority of a high northern latitude for this railroad is, that it avoids the summer heat of a southern route, which threatens the ease and death to the unacclimated European emigrant.

I look also yet to see the noble Ottawa made available for through navigation, and fleets of stately steamers pouring into our midst the wealth of the Western States, and meeting at Quebec and Montreal the Canadian lines of ocean steamers, whose trade will be maintained and supported by feeding lines of propellers, having by way of the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa, the Western States and the Maritime Provinces under contribution. In this connection there would be found immediately practicable to originate and sustain a line of steamers to the lower ports of the St. Lawrence, touching at Tadoussac, the Magdalen Islands, and at ports in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, in connection with the ocean steamers."

Such, then, are some of the material projects which lie before us, and which time will develop into life and activity

ity. As our lands become more densely settled, as the tide of population pours in upon us, this our country will increase in wealth, and will steadily develop its resources. Let us hope, then, that it will grow also in those higher moral, social, educational and other features which mark the real prosperity of a people, and while with all the vigour of a new world the Maritime provinces are thus advancing, I doubt not some of us may be spared to look back upon what has not been at the farthest a faint shadow of the greatness which lie before the New Britannia. Very lately, too, we felt the [illegible] commercial depression, and the panic in the United States, and the [illegible] of money of most [illegible] this our young country presented a proud [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] and during the whole book of [illegible] [illegible] Canadian banks continued [illegible] payments, and [illegible] the report [illegible] [illegible] the Montreal [illegible] [illegible] throughout, and our [illegible] [illegible] time.

[illegible]

Be this as it may, and distant as the event may prove, and even Utopian as some may deem it, I am content to record the views I entertain, resting assured that time as it passes will mature and develope the strength and power of British North America, and enable her sons to care for the interests entrusted to their keeping, and to consolidate the strength and develop the general resources of their country.

[illegible]

But, long as has been the journey this evening and vast as is the territory traversed, I trust that none of my hearers will consider the time ill spent which we have thus together devoted to the consideration of the extent and importance of the British North American Provinces; and I, at all events, at the risk of repetition, ask you in the graphic words of Judge Haliburton, "to take your pencils and write down a few facts I will give you, and, when you are alone in the [illegible] *[illegible]*"

"[illegible]

"[illegible]

And that they will be united, in firm and indissoluble alliance, I have no manner of doubt. Already the prospect

is engaging the attention of thinking men, and Canada and Acadia have begun to stretch out their hands to each other. The alliance of their hearts and hands will follow. Our neighbours, too, have their eyes upon us, and see the vision of our future distinctly defined. It is well, then, in many points of view, that this subject should be thus early discussed, for it will take time to attain its successful accomplishment. Public opinion has been rapidly maturing with regard to it. A few years ago, the man who ventured to declare himself in favor of such a combination was deemed a visionary, and was in fact in advance of his times. Now, however, politicians, and the leaders of that other power in the state—a power which makes and unmakes cabinets—the press, are ready to adopt the proposal. This is becoming, for the more that it is weighed, the more important in every point of view will this Union appear. The more discussion of it will do good, while the actual grappling with the practical details of this great national question will give a breadth and [illegible] to our politics that they now lack.

[illegible]

momentous, and to originate and develop a national line of commercial and general policy, such as will prove adapted to the wants and exigencies of our position.*

But, having thus directed your attention to matters that concern you all very closely, I shall only add that, while we are thus together conjecturing as to the future of this new Britannia, this rising power on the American Continent, I cannot refrain from a passing allusion to the paramount necessity of the right development and formation of the national character of this infant people. Nations, like individuals, have their peculiar characteristics. The British people, so firmly combined and yet so singularly distinct, present in proud pre-eminence a high-toned national character, a fit model for our imitation. Inheriting, as we do, all the characteristics of the British people, combining therewith the chivalrous feeling and impulsiveness of France, and fusing other nationalities which mingle here with these, into one, as I trust, harmonious whole—favoured the more vigorous by our northern position, and enterprising by our situation in this vast country which owns us as its masters—the British American people have duties and responsibilities of no light character imposed upon them by Providence—beginning with self-government in political matters—bringing home, through the municipal system, the art of government, and consequent respect for it, to the whole people—let a high example of national character be kept steadily in view, and let every effort be directed by our statesmen and by our whole people to its formation. A wide-spread dissemination

* See Speech of Hon. [illegible] at Halifax, [illegible] 1865, pp. [illegible]

of a sound education; a steady maintenance of civil and religious liberty, and of freedom of speech and thought, in the possession and enjoyment of all classes of the community; a becoming national respect and reverence for the behests of the Great Ruler of events, and the teachings of his Word (truthfulness); and a high-toned commercial honour (uncorrupt and unblemished rectitude), as a people, in the direct observance of all the legalities of the Province towards its creditors, and in all its relations towards all connected with it; a due respect to the powers that be, and a [illegible] of the plain and evident re[illegible] [illegible] the pre-eminent characteristics of the Province as a people; and so acting, they will not [illegible] respect; they will command the [illegible]

[illegible] but [illegible] or humble [illegible] complex whole. [illegible] and to [illegible] connecting [illegible] its [illegible] its component [illegible] upon the [illegible] after all, but [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible] and speculate without [illegible] by the

way. Here, you have a princely heritage before you. Here, steady industry and unflinching integrity will secure the rise of any man. Here, there is no keen competition, no overwrought crowding of the masses; but there is the widest scope for the exercise of every species of calling. And be your position what it may, recollect that your own conduct may dignify and elevate it. You live in a country before which there lies a dazzling and brilliant future. Be equal to the emergencies of your position, and recollect that you will have some greater or smaller influence in the shaping of its destinies. Be true, then, to your elves, and you cannot help being with your country. Take a deeper interest in its welfare, watch the course of events, and be ready to adopt an intelligent opinion on the requirements of fully occurrences. Cherish and promote by all means the spread of national sentiment. Familiarise yourself with all the interests of your country, and be assured, if you have never felt before, that you live in a country of which any people might well be proud.

And now, my friends, if in the things that I have spoken about to-night you have found anything not been made brighter by my humble endeavours, I shall feel that this endeavour to celebrate the Burns Centenary, for which we are indebted to the Committee of Dundee North Association, has been simply rewarded.

Lecture II.

THE [illegible] OF [illegible] *

[illegible] to night, and claiming their attention for a brief period, I have selected for their consideration a subject of much practical import at a time when the people of Canada have a direct and immediate interest — and not only so, but one which the friends of civilization everywhere cannot fail to regard with much interest.

In looking back over the past ten years of our Provincial history and its light and shadows, there is no feature more indicative of our real and substantial progress than the intelligent development of the national sentiment, which is unmistakably evident. Self respect and self reliance in the individual evoke corresponding sentiments in the minds of others. The man who goes steadily onward in the face of opposing difficulties, in the spirit of sturdy, honest self-reliance, toward the accomplishment of a well-defined and noble purpose, commands the respect of even those who most differ from him. And so with a rising nationality. We must feel and exhibit confidence in ourselves; we must have a settled purpose before us; and we must go steadily onward,

* Delivered before the Mercantile Library Association of Montreal, and afterwards before the Mechanics' Institute of Hemmingford, during the winter of 1868

bringing all our energies to bear upon its accomplishment, in order to merit the confidence and retain the esteem of older nations. Our Northern mining nationality has an ample field before it—a brilliant future in the distance. To occupy that field—to attain to that future in all its grandeur—the people of British North America must take high views of their plan and manifest responsibilities. They must evince an adequate appreciation of their duties, and must possess a thorough knowledge of the advantages which they possess, and of the vast resources which Providence has placed at their disposal, in order that they may advance steadily toward that high position among the nations which they may yet attain—in order that they may enter upon the full fruition of that rich inheritance of civil and religious liberty, and of high social and political privileges, which is their birthright as an offshoot of the three united nations who compose the British people.

It is, then, under the influence of such trains of thought, and with such objects in view, that I ask you to night to travel with me up the Ottawa Valley, and over the trail of the enterprising adventurers of the old Canadian North-West Company, and, taking our stand there, judge for ourselves, like the Israelitish spies, of the character of that section of a future great empire, which has for a century past been claimed as the domain of a company of merchants—the vast preserve which has been so carefully guarded from the encroachments of modern civilization, and which is popularly known as the HUDSON'S BAY TERRITORIES.*

* It seems almost unnecessary to remind the reader that since 1870 the Hudson's Bay Territories have been part and parcel of the Dominion.

[illegible] and intelligent opinion, as to the [illegible] country in question are beginning to [illegible] the veil of obscurity and darkness [illegible] unwrapped to begin [illegible] the world of civilization have com[illegible] the east and the west.

[illegible] which the [illegible] countries have [illegible] the rapid planting of Anglo-Saxon civilization [illegible] of the hand of Providence is plainly [illegible] Who could have dreamed, five years ago, that [illegible] would so soon have been at [illegible] Bay, on the shores of the Pacific? But looking back over the more recent past, even the [illegible] to be struck with the singular manner in which the discoveries of gold have been, of late years, the precursors of the advances of the mixed people that (for want of a better name) are popularly known as the Anglo-Saxon race.

Let us, then, from this point of view, briefly glance at the history of the past. And, beginning with our own American state, we observe Britain planting a colony in America. The colony grows, but at length the ties that bound it to the parent state are ruptured, and a new and vigorous people, speaking the English language, and inheriting its literature and its religion, have taken their stand among the nations. But time passes on. Away upon the Pacific particles of yellow dross are found. The cry of "Gold! gold!" is raised, and a furious rush of eager, fierce speculation sweeps over the intervening space, and a thronging horde of energetic Americans occupy the new territory.

Another Anglo-Saxon state, California, claims admission into the American Union.

But again a vast continent lay in comparative obscurity. Its progress was slow, the distance to it was great, the prospects of its speedy occupation were dark and gloomy. But suddenly it is touched as with a magic wand. Particles of the yellow dross are found. The cupidity of the nations is aroused, and a dense throng of adventurers takes place. A new wing of the great Anglo-Saxon family is planted, and a new nationality springs into birth, destined to take no mean place in the after history of the human family, receiving the impress of the British type of mind, and inheriting the British peculiarities of thought and mental training. There, on Australian soil, has been planted and has taken deep root a vigorous off-shoot of the old British oak.

But again time passes on. Another great section of the American continent is lying idle, and unoccupied to any extent by civilized life. A great company has it in possession, and seeks to maintain about it a dense veil of obscurity. It has been the home of the roving Indian, the haunt of the buffalo, the huge preserve for the gathering of a few peltries. It is designed that so it shall remain, when again the cry is raised of "Gold! gold!" The yellow dross is found on the Fraser and the Thompson Rivers, and again the irresistible rush of the Anglo-Saxon family takes place. British Columbia takes rank among the colonies of the Empire. A new centre of light, civilization, and liberty has been planted upon the shores of the Pacific.

Surely it is plain to the most superficial observer that there is an overruling purpose in all this. Surely these

English speaking nations have a mission to the human race. As strictly Britain and America—parent and daughter—ought to and will yet have, a common purpose, and ought to work together in bonds of the closest alliance for its accomplishment. Be this as it may, however, this British race with its energy and intelligence, its political liberty, its freedom of speech and of conscience, and its earnest religious character, is fast dominating itself throughout the habitable globe. But, not to digress too widely let us consider more closely the vast field for its and our occupation which lies beyond us.

The obscurity which enveloped Prince Rupert's Land is passing away. The mist of ignorance is rising. The country itself is standing forth in its true light, and appears in a very different aspect from that it wore when viewed through the coloured and distorted media of depreciation and misrepresentation. The process is going steadily on. As some fair statue—freed from the accumulation of ages in which it lay buried, and gradually disentombed by some adventurous Layard—stands before us a vision of beauty and of rare excellence, or, to speak more appositely, as the treasures of the hoarding miser are brought to light, and the tenacious grasp of the huge *main mort* of the Hudson's Bay Company is relaxed, so will these fair Territories stand before us and present to the attention of the human family vast expanses of rich arable country—goodly habitations for the residence of civilized man.

Holding, then, such views, I shall consider: 1st. The extent of the Territory; 2nd. Its features and resources; 3rd. The tenure or the mode of its holding by the Com-

pany—and then I shall conjecture a future, and leave you to think over the grandeur of the British Dominions on this continent, as they now are, and as they will in the process of time become.

In dealing with this comprehensive and retrospective subject, I am aware of its magnitude and importance, and I feel in no light degree the difficulty of compression. I therefore remind you that, in the course of a brief hour, I design only to suggest topics for your after reflection and consideration.

The large portion of the American continent which we are to night considering cannot much longer remain untenanted by civilized man. The territory claimed by the company is a vast one. Its length is stated by Murray at about 2,600 miles, and its breadth at nearly 1,160 miles; though it is difficult to arrive at a correct estimate, owing to the extent of its inland seas. Its area, inclusive of what is now British Columbia, was estimated by Arrowsmith at 3,060,000 square miles. This mere abstract statement does not, however, convey an adequate impression of the vast extent of the region of Hudsonia. An American writer, who assumed the territory over which the company exercise control to contain an area of 2,500,000 square miles only, presents the question to our view in the ensuing forcible terms: "How much is that? It is fifteen times and a half larger than the State of California, about thirty-eight times as large as the State of New York, nearly twice as large as the whole of the thirty-one States of the Union, and, if we omit the Territory of Nebraska, as large as all our States and Territories combined!"

[illegible] kept, [illegible] company of [illegible] Surely [illegible] complete terms [illegible] the interests [illegible] of this ter[illegible] and neither the [illegible] stand by, and [illegible] it may be with [illegible] of an ancient [illegible] with sign boards [illegible] permitted [illegible] the time has come when the claim of humanity, and the interest of a great empire, require that all the portions of the vast territory which are adapted for settlement should be laid open to the industrious immigrant; and more, that every effort should be made to ascertain what portions of the territory are really available for settlement. With the information we possess, we believe that there are large tracts, primely provinces in fact, that are well adapted to become the seats of busy industry; and I am utterly indisposed, as are, I believe, the people of Canada also, to accept as an accurate representation "of the character of the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company, with reference to its adaptation for the purposes of colonization and cultivation," the authoritative and positive assertion of one of the officials of the company that "no part of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories is well adapted for settlement," however true it may be of the Siberia to the north of the continent.

True, the interests of a great company require that it should be so depicted. True, the statement is in harmony with the uniform representations of the company. But nevertheless, we believe that, looking at the territory, not from the contracted point of view of a trading company, but from the higher stand point of Imperial and Colonial interests, we shall come, upon undoubted authority, to the moderate but positive conclusions that there are noble provinces in these territories well adapted for settlement provinces which will yet become important members of the New Britannic Empire which is quickly being built up on these Northern shores.

Our means of information are fast multiplying with regard to the territory. We have ample data on which to base safe and legitimate conclusions. We have had the evidence of travellers, of missionaries, and of servants of the company. We are now obtaining the trustworthy testimony of scientific exploring expeditions, prosecuting their researches from the Eastern and the Western Territories. In to night, then, pursuing our journey westward, I design to travel in good company; and lest we should lose our way in the wilds, I will keep close to the prominently-defined trail of the Governor of Rupert's Land, Sir George Simpson, as in 1841 he wended his way on his enterprising *Overland Journey Round the World*, of which we are in possession of so lively and graphic an account.*

First, we shall steam up the Ottawa as far as Les Joachims; thence proceed by canoe, via the Upper Ottawa and the Mat-

* London, 1847. The author, Sir George Simpson, was Governor in-Chief of the Hudson's Bay Company's Territories. He obtained his knighthood in 1841, and died at Lachine on the 7th of September, 1860.

[illegible] to Lake Nipissing, thence, by some conveyance, down the French River to the Georgian Bay (or we can go thus [illegible] directly and speedily by the Grand Trunk and Northern Railways), and thence by steamer through Lake Huron and the Sault Ste. Marie ship-canal, to Lake Superior, and onward on that lake to Fort William, near the frontier of Manitoba. From this point we shall, in our canoe, dart northwards up the beautiful river Kaministiquia, "whose red clay banks form a striking and agreeable contrast to the steep and rugged coast of Lake Superior." Passing by the Kakabeka Falls, "inferior in volume only to Niagara, and having the advantage over it in wildness of scenery," we shall pass through forests of elm, oak, pine, and birch, where "the river is studded with isles not less fertile than the banks, many a spot reminding us of the rich and quiet scenery of England." And as we look over this (to borrow a term from the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Territories) "perfect Paradise, as compared with the adamantine desert of Lake Superior," the conclusion is forced upon our minds, as it was upon that of Sir George Simpson, that "one cannot pass through this fair valley without feeling that it is destined, sooner or later, to become the happy home of civilized men, with their bleating flocks and lowing herds, their schools and their churches, their full garners and their social hearths." Toiling on our way, "crossing the height of land between Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company's Territories," as they claim it, and leaving behind us in a shallow pool "one of the thousand sources of the St. Lawrence," descending the River Embarras, passing through the Lake of a Thousand Lakes, over the French Portage,

over hill and valley, through morass and forest, passing through Sturgeon Lake into the Maligne, thence through Lac la Croix to the Macan, seeing, as we pass, sturgeons tethered by the Indians to stakes and waiting their doom, we make a short portage from the Macan to a stream falling into the Lac la Pluie, and thence float on to that Lake. "The river," says our authority, "which empties Lac la Pluie into the Lake of the Woods, is decidedly the finest stream on the whole route. From Fort Frances downwards, a stretch of 100 miles, it is not interrupted by a single impediment, while the current is not strong enough to materially retard an ascending traveller. When we understand, as we are informed by Professor Hind, that the area of arable land in the Rainy River Valley exceeds 200,000 acres, while there are small detached areas on the route between the Kaministiquia and the Rainy Rivers of from 50 to 200 acres, which will be of much importance in the establishment of the line of communication from Canada, we can appreciate the statement of Sir George Simpson that "the banks are no less favourable to agriculture than the waters themselves to navigation, resembling in some measure those of the Thames near Richmond. From the very bank of the river"—continues Sir George, "there rises a gentle slope of green sward, crowned in many places with a plentiful growth of birch, poplar, beech, elm and oak."

We can enter most cordially into the vision that rose before him—a vision now rapidly approaching realization—and which he thus foreshadowed:—

"Is it too much for the eye of philanthropy to discern, through the vista of futurity, this noble stream, connecting as it does the fertile shores of two spacious lakes, with crowded steamboats on its bosom and populous towns on its borders?"

[illegible] Lake [illegible] Woods, [illegible] with woody [illegible] the W[illegible] into Lake Winnipeg. [illegible] miles, [illegible] The [illegible] by [illegible] from the [illegible] reached the Winnipeg, and [illegible] the mouth [illegible] River [illegible] the lower [illegible] of the settlement [illegible] Fort Garry, [illegible] miles higher up the river [illegible] in a few minutes a complete [illegible] journey of 400 miles from Fort William, and here [illegible] from the [illegible] some information of a [illegible] character. The route derives much present interest from the fact that it is our avenue of approach to the [illegible] of the Red River and the Saskatchewan [illegible] our pathway to the Red River settlement, whence we can take horses and [illegible] on to the Rocky Mountains, "over a very fine country." But for the present simply passing through the Red River settlement, and forbearing to glance at its eventful history, in itself an ample theme for a lecture, and reserving to an after part of the evening some account of its condition and resources, I will ask my hearers to take (in imagination) horse, or, if they prefer it, to stretch themselves for part of the journey, as far as Edmonton, lazily in a cart, and, with the cry of "Westward ho!" pass out upon the fertile prairies, and so attempt to gain the shores of the Pacific; again following the route of Sir George Simpson, for the advantage of a beaten path.

[illegible] "through the [illegible] Fort Garry, into the open plain with a [illegible] [illegible] the meeting of an [illegible] [illegible] Arabs, a medley of [illegible] and [illegible] in one single vehicle, the unruly [illegible] [illegible] under their loads, and every cavalier armed to the teeth, a [illegible] to neigh and caper with [illegible] and [illegible], the effect being not a little heightened by a brilliant sunrise, the firing of cannon, the streaming of [illegible], and the cheering of spectators." We are under way, then. The country of the next day is "a perfect level." On the east, north, and south there was not a mound or a tree to vary the vast expanse of greenward, while to the west were the gleaming bays of the winding Assiniboine, separated from each other by wooded points of considerable depth. Next day the cavalcade "bruised the rich grass with their knees." The rankness of the vegetation savoured of the torrid zone. In the afternoon, the plains gave place to a "rolling succession of sandy hills covered with brush." Next day the journey lay through tolerably well wooded hills, with a succession of lakes. In the neighbourhood of these waters the pasture was rich and luxuriant. The pace now became slower, to keep with that of the loaded carts. On ascending the eastern embankment of the valley of the Assiniboine, a large band of horses was seen, the stud of Fort Ellice.

Leaving the fort, and passing through a swampy wood, and through a level meadow several thousand acres in extent, the party trotted away over prairies studded with

[illegible] then over [illegible] a pond, [illegible] the [illegible] interspersed with [illegible] the journey went on amid [illegible] and covered with thick wood, a [illegible] hill and long valleys, till the [illegible] reached. A small [illegible] from the [illegible] River through a [illegible] park, brought the [illegible] on the Saskatchewan. The distance of [illegible] miles was accomplished in thirteen days. The river is here a quarter of a mile wide, and is navigable for boats from Rocky Mountain House to Lake Winnipeg, upwards of [illegible] miles in a direct line. At the Fort "there are large gardens and fields, producing abundance of potatoes and other vegetables." Next, we journey on from Carlton to Edmonton, on the north bank of the Saskatchewan. The route lies at first through a hilly country; then through vast prairies, the grazing grounds of the buffalo,* a herd of 6,000 having been overtaken by the party. Sir George Simpson states that buffaloes are incredibly numerous, and that in 1829 he saw 10,000 of their carcasses mired

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* These animals have since practically become extinct. Their trails are seldom seen, and their bones lie bleaching on the vast plains, while the Indian, deprived of his main support, is painfully learning, under the tuition of the Canadian Government, to gain his livelihood by the culture of the soil.

[illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] They [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

country, and also obtain many incidental facts and statements which prove not only its adaptation for settlement, but that it is adapted to take the highest rank as a grazing-country. A country which affords sustenance to the buffalo in such countless numbers cannot be a sterile one. Vast stretches of prairie, carpeted with rich green-sward, present no such obstacles to the settler as do our own acres of Canadian forest; and the time cannot be distant when they will be turned to profitable account. I have adduced strong testimony as to the character of the country in question; but I feel bound, in common fairness, to state that the weight of the evidence has been somewhat impaired by that of the same witness when before the Committee of the House of Commons, and I shall quote, therefore, other authorities as to the capabilities of the country.

Hear Sir Alexander McKenzie as to the river discharging Lac la Pluie:—

"This is one of the finest rivers in the North West, and runs a course west and east of 120 miles, ... Its banks are covered with a rich soil, particularly to the north, which in many parts are clothed with fine open groves of oak, with the maple, pine and cedar. The southern bank is not so elevated, and displays the maple, white birch and the cedar, with the spruce, alder, and various underwood.

"Though the soil at the fort is a stiff clay, there is a garden, which, unassisted as it is by manure or any particular attention, is tolerably productive."

Of the Red River District, he says:

"The country on either side of that river is but partially supplied with wood, and consists of plains covered with herds of buffalo and elk, especially on the western side. On the eastern side are lakes and rivers, and the whole country is well wooded and boxed. . . . . There is not perhaps a finer country in the world for the residence of uncivilized man than that which occupies the space between this river and Lake Superior."

Professor Hind says: —

"About Rainy Lake, and thence to Rainy River and the Lake of the Woods, following from the latter place the proposed route across to Red River, the country is, I think, as well adapted for settlement as any other part of North America. The climate is good, the soil in general fertile, water power is to be had in abundance, and in the woods there are many kinds of valuable timber."

I shall in the proper sequence speak more fully of the Red River country; and I think that few will hesitate to continue to believe that it is neither barren nor unproductive, but that it is well adapted to become the dwelling-place of a large population, and that it has resources extensive enough to maintain a thriving colony, if once British freedom were established within its borders.

I shall, therefore, here group the result of recent inquiries as to the extent of the known territory, now or formerly (under some authority or other) subjected to the control of the company, but which ought to be thrown open for settlement, and which is well adapted for the purpose. And, to reverse the order of our view, and commence on the west, I notice, firstly,

VANCOUVER ISLAND.

With regard to this interesting possession of the Crown, which comprises 13,000 square miles, and is as long as England, though not so wide, I quote the testimony of the Honourable Edward Ellice:—

"From all the accounts we have of it, it is a kind of England attached to America. . . . It should be the principal station of your naval force in the Pacific. It is an island in which there is every kind of timber fit for naval purposes. It has the only good harbour from San Francisco to as far north as the Russian settlement of Sitka. You have in Vancou-

ver Island the best harbour, fine timber in every situation, and coal enough for your whole navy. The climate is wholesome, very like that of England. The coasts abound with fish of every description in short, there is every advantage in the Island of Vancouver to make it one of the first colonies and best settlements of England."

Mr. Cooper, long a practical agriculturist, and a member of the Council of the island, says of it: "The soil is capable of producing all the crops that we grow in England, and some others which we cannot produce—Indian corn, for instance; but I do not think it would quite come to perfection on account of the coolness of the nights." But he says that "wheat ripens to perfection," and that "it is one of the finest wheat-growing countries in the world." Mr. John Miles says that "the soil of the island is very good and very rich, and the climate is, I think, superior to that of England. . . There is every necessary in the island itself for its becoming one of the finest colonies in the world. It has wood, coal, good land and iron. The position is good and the climate is good." Ex-Governor Blanchard says that "on the whole the climate is milder than that of Britain, and the soil is fertile."

In view of such advantages, and in view of its evident natural destiny as a great naval station, a new England, upon which will concentrate a flourishing trade with India, China, the Indian Archipelago, and Australia, who can doubt that its rise will be rapid and its progress steady, as it is gradually developed into a wealthy and prosperous centre of trade, the smiling home of thousands of happy colonists?

We have, secondly,

BRITISH COLUMBIA.*

This new colony lies between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, and comprises all the territories bounded to the south by the American frontier line of 49 degrees north latitude; to the east by the main chain of the Rocky Mountains; to the north by Simpson's River and the Finlay branch of the Peace River; and to the west by the Pacific Ocean. It includes Queen Charlotte's Island, and the islands thereto adjacent. It is, according to the Colonial Secretary, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, 120 miles long and 300 broad. Taken from corner to corner, its greatest length is 800 miles, and its greatest breadth 400 miles. Mr. Arrowsmith computes its area, including Queen Charlotte's Island, at more than 200,000 square miles. Of its two gold-bearing districts, one is on the Fraser River, now so well known, which river, flowing south from the northern boundary, falls into the sea at the south-western extremity of the territory, opposite the southern end of Vancouver Island, and within a few miles

* Vancouver Island and the mainland were united in 1866 under the name of British Columbia. In July, 1871, that Province entered Confederation, and became a part of the Dominion. The boundaries laid down in the text were of course varied when Vancouver Island became part of British Columbia. The boundary between the United States and the British possessions in the far west of America was long a fruitful source of dispute. It was supposed to have been settled by the Oregon Treaty of 1846, but the description in that treaty was so uncertain that the question, for practical purposes, remained as far from settlement as before. After having repeatedly led to international complications, the San Juan boundary question, as it was called, was submitted by the two powers concerned to the arbitrament of the Emperor of Germany. The question to be decided was whether the Haro Channel, as claimed by the United States, or the Rosario Strait, as claimed by Great Britain, was the boundary contemplated by the Treaty of 1846. On the 21th of October, 1872, the Emperor adjudicated in favour of the view contended for by the United States. By reference to a map it will be seen that this portion of the boundary lies considerably to the south of the 49th parallel.

of the American boundary. The other is on the Thompson River, which rises in the Rocky Mountains, and flows westward to the Fraser River, about 150 miles from the coast. It is on these rivers, and chiefly at their confluence, that the gold discoveries were originally made. Mr. Cooper is quoted by Bulwer as stating in a letter addressed to him that

"Its fisheries are most valuable; its timber the finest in the world for marine purposes. It abounds with bituminous coal, well suited for the generation of steam. From Thompson River and Colville District to the Rocky Mountains, and from the 49th parallel some 350 miles north, a more beautiful country does not exist. It is every way suitable for colonization."

Mr. Cooper stated also in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons that the climate of the Thompson River country is one of the most beautiful in the world, and that it is capable of producing all the crops produced in England. Its winters are more severe than those of England, but much milder than those of Canada. He stated that "its winter, being so much milder, would not bear comparison with a Canadian winter." Such, then, is the country in which, under an enlightened policy, a provisional government has been established, with the intention of eventually according to the infant colony the rights and the duties of representative institutions; and that so soon as its society takes shape and form so soon as it arrives at a sufficient stage of advancement for their exercise.

We Canadians cannot but regard with hopeful interest the progress of this experiment. The gold fields, though for a time steadily depreciated, are proving productive. But

even should they yet become unproductive, good has been accomplished, and earnest, self-reliant men will push on to the western slope of the Rocky Mountains and build up there on the Pacific shores a thriving British colony. When the fever of the gold excitement has passed away, and fruitful fields yield up their rich harvest, and the hum of busy industry is heard in the long desolate glades and prairies of the West, the statesmanlike and judicious views of the present Colonial Secretary will have ripened into fruition —views which he forcibly expressed in the British House of Commons when he said:—

"Of one thing I am sure, that though at present it is the desire of gold which attracts to this colony its eager and impetuous founders, still, if it be reserved, as I hope, to add a permanent and flourishing race to the great human family, it must be not by the gold which the digger may bring to light, but by the more gradual process of patient industry in the culture of the soil and in the exchange of commerce. It must be in the respect for the equal laws which secure to every man the power to retain what he may honestly acquire; it must be in those social virtues by which the fierce impulse of force is tamed into habitual energy, and avarice itself, and the strife of competition, find their objects best realized by steadfast emulation and prudent thrift."

Firmly convinced of the sound philosophy and the practical common sense contained in those weighty words of a British statesman, we British North Americans will watch the future of British Columbia and Vancouver Island with keen interest and rising hopes, and will coincide most cordially in the feelings which influenced Bulwer, when closing the striking speech in which he had enunciated his plans for the development of the new colony:—

"I conclude, sir, with a humble trust, that the Divine Disposer of all human events may afford the safeguard of His blessing to an attempt to

add another community of Christian freemen to those by which Great Britain confides the records of her empire, not to pyramids and obelisks, but to states and commonwealths, whose history will be written in her language."

I turn, thirdly, to

THE ATHABASKA DISTRICT,

which comprises 50,000 square miles. The valleys of the Peace and Athabaska Rivers occupy the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains, and share the Pacific climate in a high degree. Of this region Sir Alexander McKenzie says:—

"In the summer of 1788 a small spot was cleared at the old establishment, which is situated on a bank thirty feet above the level of the river, and was sown with turnips, carrots, and parsnips. The first grew to a large size, and the others thrived very well. An experiment was also made with potatoes and cabbage; the former of which was successful, but, for want of care, the latter failed. In the fall of 1787 Mr. Pond had formed on the bank of the Elk River as fine a kitchen garden as I ever saw in Canada. Opposite to our present situation are beautiful meadows."

"On the 20th of April," he says, "on the other side of the river, which was yet covered with ice, the plains were delightful, the trees were budding and many plants in blossom." On the 10th of May, 1793, he writes: "The whole country displays an exuberant verdure." And to adduce the statements of another eye-witness: sixty-five years later, Richard King, M.D., surgeon to the expedition in search of Sir John Ross, described this country (as he saw it in 1854) as a very fertile valley.

"It is bounded" say Dr. King, "on the north by Athabaska Lake, and on the south by Cumberland House, on the Saskatchewan; and it is central thereto and in the equator. The country between the Athabaska and the Saskatchewan is an immense area surrounded by water. When I

heard Dr. Livingstone's description of the splendid country which he found within the tropics in the interior of Africa, it appeared to me to be precisely the kind of country I am now describing. I passed through a great portion of the district .... The soil was a black mould, evidently alluvial. I was told by the traders generally that it was precisely the same land as that which I passed through, viz., a rich soil interspersed with well-wooded country, there being growth of every kind, and the whole vegetable kingdom alive."

The average temperature of the vast area of which Athabaska is the northern boundary he believed to be about the same as that of Montreal. Limestone is met with in all directions. The birch, beech, and maple are in abundance, and there is every sort of fuel; there is likewise barley. "There is one portion of London," he says, "I have often pointed out to my friends as the sort of country I am referring to—Kensington, and the magnificent trees round Kensington Park." At Cumberland House he found "capacious barns," and near it a little colony of thirty persons, with 1500 to 2,000 acres under cultivation. The farms were highly cultivated. There were corn, wheat and barley growing. But they had been ordered to vacate.

"At the time they were ordered off, they told me that the Company would not allow them to cultivate; that it was against the Company, and therefore the thing was to be broken up. Then I went to Cumberland House, and found they were really borne out in what they said; for the barns and the implements were in the fields, and the cows, oxen, and horses, and everything had gone wild. I inquired the reason of it. They told me that Governor Williams had a *penchant* for farming, and the Company had ordered him off somewhere else. The wheat was luxuriant; and there were also potatoes, barley, pigs, cows and horses."

The colonists appealed to Dr. King, as a government officer, to relieve them, which he was unable to do.

Here, then, is a large tract of country evidently available for settlement, to which attention should be directed, with the view of taking advantage of the inducements it presents for colonization. Under other management the little colony of thirty might have been expanded into an important nucleus of progress and civilization, and the 2000 cultivated acres might have increased a hundred fold. Let us hope that henceforth the country will receive that fair play which it evidently deserves, and that colonists will have free and unquestioned license to occupy the virgin soil without let or hindrance.

I now turn, in my eastward progress, to the

SASKATCHEWAN, ASSINIBOINE, AND RED RIVER COUNTRY.

This vast territory comprises an area of 360,000 square miles,* and presents many advantages for speedy and extensive colonization. The Red and Saskatchewan Rivers course through vast fertile plains. The Red River, Lake Winnipeg, and the Saskatchewan furnish a navigable waterline of 1100 miles. Steamers, recent explorers have stated, may ply on the Saskatchewan for a distance of 700 miles above Lake Winnipeg.† According to Mr. Hind, who reported to the Canadian Government last year, there are within British Territory, in the valleys of the Red River and its affluent the Assiniboine, 1,200,000 acres of cultivable land of the finest quality, and an area of 3,000,000 acres well adapted for grazing purposes. Surely, with such an expanse ready for occupation, a long time will not elapse

* 230,000 square miles.

† This has at a later date an accomplished fact.

ere prosperous and populous communities will inhabit its rich prairies, and a great transcontinental thoroughfare be established, via Canada and the Red River to the Pacific. With our tame and prosaic ideas, with our remembrances of the past, and with the present stern warfare urged against the forests of our heavily-timbered lands, it is difficult to form any conception of this boundless prairie, with its rich, long, waving grass glistening under the rays of the noon-day sun like some great ocean, but "which, unlike the ever-changing and unstable sea, seems to offer a bountiful recompense, in a secure though distant home, to millions of our fellow-men."

The settlement at the Red River was formed by Lord Selkirk in 1811, and it has passed through a severe and trying ordeal. It has not advanced much in population, owing to the difficulty of ingress and egress, and to the want of a market of sufficient extent to stimulate industry and encourage production. The total population in 1856 was 11,811, having increased 1,200 only in seven years.* The soil at the Red River settlement is, according to Dr. Rae, of a very rich quality. According to the Rev. Mr. Corbett, a Church of England clergyman who was stationed in the territory, the country is excellent for agricultural operations, which might probably be extended to a great distance from the river. The soil is alluvial. The inhabitants cultivate the soil without manuring it. They sow for twelve or fourteen years in succession, and produce, from four quarts, twelve bushels of wheat, sixty-five or seventy pounds to the bushel.

* The most marvellous transformation of all has [illegible] since here. What was [illegible] known as the Red River settlement now contains not fewer than 50,000 souls. Winnipeg alone has a population of more than 20,000.

According to Bishop Anderson, the crops at the Red River are as good as in any part of Canada. Mr. Cowles, a farmer, is stated by Mr. Hind to have grown fifty-six measured bushels of wheat to the acre.* Melons grow luxuriantly, and "all kinds of farm-produce common in Canada succeed admirably in the district of Assiniboia. There are wheat, oats, barley, Indian corn, hops, flax, hemp, potatoes, root-crops, and all kinds of garden vegetables;" and as a grazing country in summer and in autumn, the Red River territory has perhaps no equal. With such a region spread out before us, inviting occupation, I can enter heartily into the belief of Mr. Hind: "Introduce the European or the Canadian element into the settlement, and in a very few years the beautiful prairies of the Red River and the Assiniboine would be white with flocks and herds, and a large and flourishing centre of civilization, liberty, and progress planted, and another link established in the chain of communities which are springing up in British territory between the Atlantic and the Pacific."

And now, in review of our observations of this territory, its extent is so vast, and our means of information have been hitherto so limited, that it is at present impossible to arrive at a positive conclusion as to the best modes of its immediate partial occupation. Doubtless the experiment now being tried on the Pacific will solve the difficulty. But it is evident that other portions of the wide territory also demand the prompt est attention; and I believe that as our

* These facts as to the agricultural capabilities of the land were little known at the time of the delivery of the lecture. They have long since become known to everyone who takes any interest in matters relating to the North West, and the fabulous yields of the first have frequently been exceeded in various parts of Manitoba.

own territory is sufficiently large, and we have scope and verge enough for the expansion of a dense population (denser than ours will be for years to come), similar prompt and energetic measures should be adopted with regard to the Red River country, which until it be admitted a member of the Canadian Confederation—an object to be kept steadily in view—should meanwhile be constituted into a territorial government, under the direct authority of the Crown,* with a constitution adapted to its position, with entire freedom for importation and exportation, save upon the charges, of moderate extent, necessary to defray the expenses of the government. Then, with an energetic colony on the Pacific, with another centre of civilization and progress on the Red River, and with Canada stretching out towards the prairie, and traversing anew her old north-western path re-opened and improved, the vast country would bid fair to be peopled with an industrious population, and the avenue would be opened up for the inroad of the locomotive. The construction of the Atlantic and Pacific Railway would be facilitated, its ultimate construction assured, and a step of immeasurable

*This suggestion was acted upon. In 1869 an Act was passed providing a Territorial Government for the North-Western possessions then in progress of acquirement from the Hudson's Bay Company. This, however, was merely a temporary expedient, and in due course the Red River settlement, under the name of Manitoba, was erected into a Province of the Confederation. The North-West Territories, apart from Manitoba, are still governed by a Lieutenant-Governor and his Council. The District of Keewatin was also created, embracing the Northern Territory—the land of the North Wind. The Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba is *ex officio* Governor of this District. The North-West Territories have recently been divided into Districts, and the Council is a mixed one, partly nominative and partly elective. As stated in the Introduction to this volume, Mr. Morris held, during the customary term, the offices of Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, the North-West Territories, and Keewatin.*

importance taken towards laying the foundation of the new Britannic Northern Empire on these American shores.

THE PACIFIC RAILWAY

is one of those immense undertakings which only a great and urgent necessity could call into life and activity. Yet, grand as is the conception, I hesitate not to say that it is far more likely to be constructed within the next twenty years than was ten years ago the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada. Nor am I alone in this belief. Hear the language of Sir Edward Bulwer :—

"I believe that the day will come, and that many now present will live to see it, when a portion at least of the lands on the other side of the Rocky Mountains, being also brought into colonization and guarded by free institutions, one direct line of railway communication will unite the Pacific to the Atlantic."

As to the practicability of the route, I content myself with quoting the testimony of Sir George Simpson before the Hudson's Bay Committee of the House of Commons, that there is a very fine country through which a railway might easily, comparatively speaking, be made from the Red River to the Rocky Mountains. The discovery by the Palliser expedition of practicable passes through the Rocky Mountains ensures the ultimate construction of this great national work.

THE CLIMATE.

But with the question of a railway, and with that of colonization, the character of the climate is intimately associated, and I shall therefore notice that branch of the subject briefly. I have already incidentally referred to the favour-

able climate of Vancouver Island and of British Columbia, and the question is one of importance, for the capacity for settlement is to be determined by climate.

In an elaborate work recently published in Philadelphia —Blodgett's "Climatology"—it is demonstrated that the climate of the north-west coast, and of the interior towards Lake Winnipeg, is quite the reverse of that experienced in the same latitudes on the Atlantic, and highly favourable to occupation and settlement. It is predicted in that work that a speedy development of that capacity will take place when the climate becomes correctly known.

On the maps of this climatological work we find lines for the summer, connecting places of the like measures going very far north, as they go westward from Philadelphia and New York. Where the mean is seventy-five degrees as at New York, the line connecting points of that temperature strikes off north-westward after leaving the Ohio River, and goes almost to the northern boundary of the United States on the Upper Missouri. The measure of seventy degrees goes far on the Saskatchewan River, connecting its western plains with St. Paul, Chicago, Cleveland and West Point. If these cities have a tolerable climate for summer, the plains of the Saskatchewan, which lie just east of Fraser River across the main chain of the Rocky Mountains, have one capable of settlement. The line of sixty-five connects Portland, Quebec, Mackinaw, Superior City, and Lake Winnipeg. It goes to the Athabaska River northward, and quite to the fifty fifth parallel, from which it returns southward to Fort Owen, Fort Colville, and Fort Vancouver, in Oregon. The coolness of the country westward is derived

from the Pacific, which prevents a high measure of summer heat, the average for the vicinity of Vancouver Island and of Fraser River being between sixty and sixty-five degrees, or almost precisely such as that for the west of England.

"Again," says the author above referred to, "taking the isothermal chart for the winter, we have equally important results. The line of thirty-five degrees passes down the coast across the mouth of the Fraser River, and, going as far south as the Albuquerque in New Mexico, it reaches the Atlantic coast in the latitude of Washington city. Generally all the lines of temperature for the winter curve far northward as they approach the Pacific, though they fall southward at the meridian of the west end of Lake Superior. The winter climate of the whole country west of the 100th meridian is remarkable, and inexplicably mild to one who has not studied the relation of continental climates to those of the adjacent seas. By the explanation this position affords, however, much of the case is made plain. The winds of the temperate latitudes are steadily from the west, and they bathe the western coasts in milder air, derived from the adjacent sea. In this manner, Ireland, England, the west of Norway and Germany, are far milder than the interior of Russia in the same latitudes. At Moscow it is very cold in winter, while on the British coasts snow scarcely falls. It is precisely so on the American continent. Quebec and Canada and the mountainous portion of New England represent the cold side, while Washington Territory, British Columbia, and Vancouver Island represent the west of Europe."

This is important testimony, and proves that scientific researches are not without practical results of the highest value. In this case they tend to the development of an empire of the amplest extent and most abundant natural resources.

Having thus considered the character of the country under the sway of the Hudson's Bay Company, or rather of those portions of it now known to be best adapted for settlement, I now proceed to inquire upon what tenure the company claims to hold this half of a great continent, and find that a charter was granted by King Charles the Second to the company for the promotion of the public good, and for the encouragement of the design of the parties for whose benefit it was granted, viz. "the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea," and "for finding of some trade in furs, minerals, and other considerable commodities," which last is subsidiary to the main object of finding a passage into he South Sea.

The three things granted thereby are:

1st. The territorial lordship of Rupert's Land.

2nd. The exclusive trade of Rupert's Land.

3rd. The exclusive trade with all other ports to which access might be obtained thence by land or water.

The words of the grant are vague and indefinite in the extreme. Grants were made with lavish liberality in those days; and in the want of accurate information as to the extent or locality of the country granted, the gift was clothed with a multitude of words, so as to comprehend as much as possible. The terms of the grant are: All the seas straits, bays, &c., in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that

lie within the entrance of the straits commonly called Hudson's Straits, together with all the lands and territories upon the countries, coasts, and confines of the seas, &c., that are not already possessed by or granted to any of our subjects, or possessed by the subjects of any other Christian Province or State. It would puzzle a bench of Judges to decide the meaning of these terms, and it would tax the ingenuity of a corps of Provincial Land Surveyors to run the boundaries of that grant. Where are the lands and territories, upon the countries, coasts, and confines of the seas, &c., that lie within Hudson's Straits? The company have their own interpretations of its meaning, and claim all the country the waters of which fall into Hudson's Bay. To sustain that view they quote the opinion of eminent counsel. Sir J. Pelly, long earnestly interested in the company, says, in evidence given before the House of Commons, that "the power of the company extends all the way from the boundaries of Lower and Upper Canada, away to the North Pole as far as the land goes, and from theLabrador coast all the way to the Pacific Ocean." An extensive domain, certainly! It is not my intention to enter at length into the discussion of the legality of this charter or its merits. Its language is vague; and eminent counsel, Lord Brougham among them, have maintained that the claims of the company were untenable, holding that the expression "within the Straits," must mean such a proximity as would give the land spoken of a sort of affinity to Hudson's Straits, and not such lands as, from the immense distance (in this case the nearest point to Hudson's Bay being 700 miles, and thence extending to a distance of 1500 miles from it), have

no such geographical affinity or relation to the Straits, but which are not even approached by the Canadians through or by the Straits in question; and declaring that "the enormous extensions of land and territory claimed appeared not to be warranted by any sound construction of the charter." Passing by the general question of legality with the simple affirmation of my belief that it ought to be judicially tested, we, as Canadians, have a special ground of attack against the charter, and we have territorial rights to conserve. But it must be borne in mind, whether we assume that the charter is valid or invalid, that Canada is clearly not entitled to the whole of the country reaching to the North Pole. If the charter be invalid, the British Crown would be the sovereign of a large portion; but nevertheless, I believe that Canada is the rightful owner of a large extent of the territory. The question of boundary is important, as a subsidiary one, and its right decision will add many fruitful acres to our borders. It derives much significance from the expressions which distinctly exclude "all the lands already actually possessed by or granted to any of our subjects, or possessed by the subjects of any Christian Province or State." Resting upon this express prohibition, Canada claims by inheritance a large tract of the territory. Canada, under the sway of the French authorities, had adventurously pushed her way into the territory, and the subjects of another "Christian Province" then possessed a large portion of it. Lord Brougham, in the opinion referred to, states:—

"Indeed, there may be sufficient reason to suppose that the territories in question, or part of them, had been then visited, traded in, and in a

certain degree occupied by the French settlers or traders in Canada, erected in 1630, whose trade, prior to the date of the charter, was, we believe, considerable. These territories, therefore, would be expressly excepted out of the grant."

Canada, then, as the representative of French Canada, has a right to demand the extension of its boundaries to their ancient limits.

But to pass to another branch of the subject. The grant of the exclusive trade over the territories called Rupert's Land is open to serious objection. By virtue of it, the Hudson's Bay Company claim (1.) to exclude all other merchants from the country; (2) to prevent the natives from selling their furs to any but privileged dealers; (3) the right to debar from trading any British subjects who may settle in the countries included in the charter. In short, the company claim and have endeavoured to maintain a complete monopoly. It would be easy to quote authorities and cite cases to prove that such engrossing of trade is unreasonable and unwarrantable, and that monopolies are without law. The law of England by no means favours them; but none would be disposed to ask such summary justice as was dealt out to one Sir Francis Mitchell in 1621, to whom a patent was granted for making and selling gold and silver lace. For this crime, as it was regarded, he was degraded from his knighthood, fined £1000, carried on horseback with his face to the tail through the streets of London, and then imprisoned for life. Such punishments are out of date, and it is well they are so. In dealing with the destiny of a portion of the empire, the question is to be considered, not in a mere dry legal aspect, but on the high ground of public

justice; and in this view the continuance of such a monopoly is wholly indefensible. The day has gone by for its maintenance, and neither the colonists of Red River nor their stronger brethren of Canada will long consent to see trade stifled and cramped and forced out of its natural channels. But the company have still another set of rights —the right of exclusive trade with the Indians over what is known as the "Indian Territories." This right is not disputed, and is at present held under the Royal License of trade granted in accordance with the Act of Parliament 1 and 2 Geo. IV., cap. 66. This license expires during the present year.

Such, then, is the nature of the rights and claims of the company. But before closing this branch of the subject, I cannot avoid alluding to the fierce warfare which waged between the rival companies of the Hudson's Bay adventurers and the Canadian North-West company, or rather the two Canadian Fur companies. The fur trade was always an important one to Canada. Distant expeditions were prosecuted into the North-West at an early date, and the trade was spread as far west as the banks of the Saskatchewan. The French had a large establishment on the Kaministiquia, on the line of their communication with the interior. They had other posts on the Saskatchewan. After the conquest of Canada, the traders pushed on the trade beyond the French limits. A keen competition arose between them and the Hudson's Bay Company. At length, in 1783, the Canadian merchants formed the "North-West Company," to carry on the fur trade. In 1788, the gross amount of the company's adventure was £40,000. In

eleven years it rose to triple that amount. In 1798 the concern was increased, and the shares augmented. The company was enterprising and energetic. It employed 50 clerks, 71 interpreters and clerks, 1120 canoe-men, and 35 guides. This, then, was no mean rival to the Hudson's Bay Company, and a long and fierce struggle ensued between them for the golden prize. The strife was waged in Canada, and it was battled in Britain. The Hudson's Bay Company urged its extreme pretensions. The North-West Company set them at naught in practice, and bearded the lion in his den, engaging Lord Brougham, Sir Arthur Pigott, and other eminent lawyers in their cause. At length, when the rights of the company were likely to be subjected to the severe test of passing through the crucible of the law, the company shrank from the ordeal, and, after years of abuse, the lion and the lamb lay down together; and Edward Ellice and the McGillivray, who had been the leaders of the North-West Company, were suddenly transformed into manful defenders of the monopoly they had so long defied. Aaron's rod had swallowed up all the other rods, and henceforth they made common cause, to retain the princely domain which it has been so long the steady policy of the company to decry and undervalue. The company were gainers by the result. They secured the aid of men of keen sagacity and shrewd judgment. They kept off "interlopers," secured a long uninterrupted reign, and obtained a license of trade over the Indian Territories, and, by and by, the occupation of Vancouver Island, with a view to its colonization. And now again the battle is to be fought, but with other assailants and with another result. Already public

necessities have withdrawn from their grasp a new colony —British Columbia. There are yet others to be erected. I by no means design to run an unthinking muck against the company. I believe it to be selfish, and eager for its own aggrandizement, as companies generally are. I believe that it has, in its dealings with Russia and the States, evinced an unpatriotic spirit. But yet it may be that it was for the advancement of British interests on this continent that the territories have hitherto remained under their power. They might otherwise have been American. It moreover has been well and fitly said that

"Perhaps there is no more striking illustration of the wisdom of that Providence which presides over the management of affairs, than the fact that emigration was first led to the Eastern coast, rather than to the slopes or plains of the West. Had the latter been first occupied, it is doubtful whether the Eastern seaboard would ever have been settled. No man would have turned from the greensward of the Pacific to the seamed slopes of the Atlantic edge. As it is, we have the energy and patience which the difficult soil of the East generates, with that magnificent sweep of Western territory, which, had it been opened to us first, might, from its very luxuriancy, have generated among those occupying it an ignoble life of ease."

Still, the conclusion is, on the whole, irresistible, that public policy and the interests of the whole empire demaud that all those portions of the territory which are adapted for settlement should at once be withdrawn from the power of the company, the odious existing restrictions on trade abolished, and free colonization allowed to take place therein without let or hindrance. The Red River settlement would then rapidly develop its resources, augment its population, and become the seat of a new and powerful colony.

With reference to the company itself, it may be that the time has come when it should be dissolved, and numbered among the things that were—that it should gracefully imitate the example of the greater and vastly more influential East India Company, and yield up its authority and control. But should it, after due reflection and for sufficient reasons, be otherwise determined, then the license to trade, and the territorial authority of the company over any portions of the soil but those in actual occupation, should be subjected to the jurisdiction and right of restriction or withdrawal of the colonial authorities of the various Provinces, or of the Supreme Council of the General Confederation, when such comes to be organized. The questions involved in the determination of this matter are grave and important. The rights and the position of the Indians are to be thought of and protected.* Still, the fact is obvious and indisputable, that the power of the company, if it continue to exist, must be restrained, and subjected to colonial control; and that, moreover, the rights of colonization and trade, at least in all the habitable territories, must be free and unfettered.

This conceded, as it must be if rightly urged, the results will be startling. With two powerful colonies on the Pacific, with another or more in the region between Canada and the Rocky Mountains, with a railway and a telegraph linking the Atlantic with the Pacific, and absorbing the newly-opened and fast-developing trade with China and Japan,

* During his tenure of office as Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, it fell to Mr. Morris's lot to take a very conspicuous part in negotiating with the Indians on behalf of the Government of Canada. For a full account of his negotiations, together with the text of the treaties concluded, we are indebted to his own pen. See *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories.* Toronto, 1880.

and our inland and ocean channels of trade becoming such a thoroughfare of travel and of commerce as the world never saw before, who can doubt of the reality and the accuracy of the vision which rises distinctly and clearly-defined before us, as the Great Britannic Empire of the North stands out in all its grandeur, and in all the brilliancy of its magnificent future! Some hard matter-of-fact thinker, some keen utilitarian, some plodding man of business, may point the finger of scorn at us, and deem all this but an empty shadow—but the fleeting fantasy of a dreamer. Be it so. Time is a worker of miracles—ay, and of sober realities too; and when we look east and west and north—when we cause the goodly band of the Northmen from Acadia, and Canada, and the North-West, and the Columbia, and the Britain of the Pacific, to defile before us, a noble army of hardy spirits encased in stalwart forms—who are the masters of so vast a territory, of a heritage of such surpassing value: and when we remember the rapid rise into the greatness of one of the powers of the earth of the former American Colonies, and look back over their progress—who can doubt of the future of these British Provinces, or of the entire and palpable reality of that vision which rises so grandly before us of the Great British Empire of the North—of that new English-speaking nation which will at one and no distant day people all this Northern continent—a Russia, as has been well said, it may be, but yet an English Russia, with free institutions, with high civilization, and entire freedom of speech and thought—with its face to the south and its back to the pole, with its right and left resting on the Atlantic and the Pacific, and with the telegraph and the iron road connecting the two oceans!

Such is the vision which passed before Queen Victoria, when she said to the Commons of England :—

"Her Majesty hopes that this new colony on the Pacific may be but one step in the career of steady progress by which Her Majesty's dominions in North America may ultimately be peopled, in an unbroken chain from the Atlantic to the Pacific, by a loyal and industrious population of subjects of the British Crown."

Such was the patriotic vision that passed before the mind of Roebuck, when, on the shores of Galway, he exclaimed :

"We lost the United Provinces of New England ; we lost them, but our good fortune enabled us to make a Northern America. Our great North American Colony stretches now from Halifax to Vancouver Island. Up the St. Lawrence, along the lakes, through the Saskatchewan, across the Rocky Mountains, the flag of England is predominant. The language of England goes from Halifax to Vancouver Island: the institutions of England will reach thence as far as habitable land goes, even to the poles, and we shall have such a dominion as the world never saw !"

Yes, such is the vision which is present to us, and to many others "to the manner born," whose all and whose destiny is here. Yes, we know, and feel, and are assured, that if the people of these British Provinces are but true to themselves, and if the people and the statesmen of Britain but act aright their part, then this dream will be realized, and that perhaps ere the men of this generation have all passed from this fleeting scene. Let us each and all, then, do our part in our respective spheres, however humble they may be, toward the accomplishment of so noble an enterprise ; and meanwhile, let us most heartily send forth, with all the fervour of earnest patriotism, and with all the earnestness of true leal-hearted British North Americans, the aspiration,

"SO MOTE IT BE."

PART II.

SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES.

Speeches and Addresses.

The following speeches are for the most part mere newspaper condensations, such as appeared in the various journals of the time, and while they convey the spirit and meaning of the speaker with tolerable accuracy, they are by no means to be accepted as *verbatim* reports. Yet, such as they are, they are the only records preserved by Mr. Morris of the respective occasions to which they refer. It being thus impossible to reproduce the *ipsissima verba*, the third person has generally been retained. In each instance where the report is a literal transcript of the speaker's words, a contrary plan has been followed, and the speech is given entire in the first person.

SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE CANADIAN ASSEMBLY DURING THE DEBATE ON THE SPEECH FROM THE THRONE, ON FRIDAY, 28TH MARCH, 1862.

[These remarks were Mr. Morris's first utterances on the floor of Parliament. He was at that time a resident of Montreal, where he enjoyed a large and lucrative legal practice, but he had a few months previously, without any solicitation on his part, been returned to the Assembly for the Upper Canadian constituency of South Lanark, in which he was born, and where he enjoyed the prestige aris-

ing from his father's long and honourable public career.* The Cartier-Macdonald Government were then in power, and it was as a Liberal Conservative that he took his seat, his partisanship, however, having in it nothing of the bitterness so prevalent in the Canadian political world at that day. It will be seen that he was not in entire sympathy with the Speech from the Throne, and that he expressed regret at the absence from it of any plan for settling the vexed question of Representation by Population. The Rep. by Pop. project was regarded by Mr. Morris as an inefficient remedy for the unpropitious state of things then existing in Canada. The true remedy, in his opinion, was the broader scheme of Confederation which was subsequently adopted.]

Mr. Morris said he would endeavour to come to the consideration of the question before the House in no spirit of party or of faction. He thought the question was too grave and important a one to be so treated. The position, in some respects peculiar, which he occupied, was one which enabled him perhaps to look at this subject more calmly than some members who were not situated as he had been. He had for sixteen years been a resident of the Lower Province, and yet he had had the honour (unsolicited) of being called to represent a constituency of Western Canada, with

* The name of the Hon. William Morris is familiar to all who pretend to an acquaintance with our political history. He was a native of Scotland, but emigrated thence to Canada about the beginning of the present century. After the close of the War of 1812, in which he served as a captain, he became one of the pioneer settlers in what is now the Town of Perth, in the County of Lanark. In 1820 he was elected to the Upper Canada Assembly for the constituency in which he resided, which then embraced what now are the Counties of Lanark, Carleton and Renfrew, together with the City of Ottawa. He signalized his third Parliamentary session by moving and carrying an Address to the King, asserting the claim of the Church of Scotland to a share of the Clergy Reserves, under the Imperial statute 31 Geo. III. c. 31. From that time forward he was the acknowledged head and front of the Scottish Presbyterian element in our population, as Sir John Beverley Robinson was of the Church of England party, and Egerton Ryerson of the Methodists. After urging the claims of his Church for sixteen years, Mr. Morris had the satisfaction of learning that the English judges had pronounced in favour

a population of 20,000. When thus called upon to take a part in the deliberations of the nation, he had felt it to be his duty to consider this important question in order to see whether some settlement of it might not be arrived at. And he could not help expressing his regret that at this, the first meeting of a new Parliament, no mention was made in the Speech from the Throne of any plan of settling the question which had for so long a period agitated this Province. He should feel it his duty to vote against the amendment which had been submitted, because he did not think it would be right for him or for this House to commit themselves to the declaration that there should be no consideration of any question affecting the representation of the people of this Province. He did think it was the duty of the gentlemen who had been entrusted with the administration of affairs, when they found that a question of this moment had been so long before the country, to consider that question, and to come before the House, and at least tell them that they had been endeavouring to arrive at some plan for its solution. He did not profess to advocate Representation by Population, pure and simple, as a remedy for the difficulties under which we laboured. But he thought that a re-adjustment of the representation had become a necessity, and that in that re-adjustment we were bound to look at the various interests of the

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of his contention. He continued to represent the County of Lanark in the Provincial Assembly until 1836, when he was called to a seat in the Legislative Council. The following year he proceeded to England to urge the claims of the Scottish Presbyterians of Canada to equal rights with those enjoyed by their fellow-subjects of English origin. At the Union he was appointed a member of the Legislative Council of United Canada, and in 1844 he took office under Sir Charles Metcalfe, and became Receiver-General of the Province. Two years later he became President of the Council. In 1848 he retired from office, but until the year 1853 he continued to take an active part in the proceedings of the branch of the Legislature to which he belonged. He survived until 1858, when he died, in his seventy-second year. "He was," says a contemporary writer, "a clear, logical, vigorous speaker, and was always listened to with respect. Having a very extensive knowledge of Parliamentary law and practice, he did much to establish the character of legislation in that branch of the legislature of which he was so long a member; and, owing to his high moral character and his firm adherence to principle, he wielded a very beneficial influence in that body. Few public men pass through a life as long as his was and carry with them more of public confidence and respect than did Mr Morris."

country, to secure representation for the industry, the manufactures, the commerce, and the wealth of the country, as well as for its mere population. He confessed that his views had undergone perforce some degree of modification since he took his seat in the House. It was impossible for any reflecting man, any man who had a heart, to take his seat in this Chamber and see the House occupy the position it did, without feeling that the question now under consideration was one of the very gravest importance. It was impossible to look at the very wide diversity of sentiment existing between the representatives of the two sections of the Province, without seeing that the question was environed with very serious difficulties. But that was no reason why statesmen should be afraid to grapple with it. In Britain questions as serious had been grappled with and settled, and he had sufficient confidence in the wisdom and good feeling of the members of this Chamber and of the people of this country, to be satisfied that if we came to the consideration of this great question free from party spirit, we should come to a satisfactory conclusion upon it. He had no doubt that when the member for Rouville* first announced to the House that he would come down with a measure to settle the Seigniorial Tenure in Lower Canada, friends told him—as had been threatened with regard to this question—that, if he attempted to introduce such a measure he would be driven from the country. But they had introduced the measure, and succeeded in settling the question. And so he believed it would be with this other question. He had confidence that men would be found able to meet it fairly, and to come down with a measure satisfactory to the country. It might be that the measure would be one which would bring together the different Provinces of British North America into a union formed on such a basis as would give to the people of each Province the right to manage their own internal affairs, while at the same time managing in common matters of common concern, so as to secure the consolidation of the Britannic power on this continent. Mr.

* The Hon. L. T. Drummond.

Morris concluded by intimating that he should give adhesion to another amendment which might possibly be submitted, and which he thought would be more agreeable to his views and those of his constituents than the resolution now before the House.

[The ominous state of affairs which prevailed in the Canadian Legislature at the time of Mr. Morris's entrance into public life was continued for several years afterwards. The rival parties were so evenly balanced that the task of carrying on the public business became more and more difficult from session to session. Neither party was strong enough to command a safe working majority in the Assembly. One Government succeeded to another, only to suffer defeat in its turn. Coalitions were formed, and various devices were resorted to, in vain attempts to accommodate to a progressive people a condition of things which had had its day. The result was a practical dead-lock in public affairs, which naturally begot a certain want of confidence in the future of our country. The idea of a general Confederation of all the British North American Provinces had suggested itself to the minds of several of our leading statesmen as a safe and effectual remedy for the evil, but it cannot be said to have taken any practical shape until the summer of 1864. The second Taché-Macdonald Administration were then in office, but could hardly be said to be in power, for they could command but a doubtful majority of one or two. On the 14th of June, this feeble majority declared itself on the side of the Opposition, on a public question of some importance. The Ministry deliberated among themselves whether to resign office, to attempt reconstruction, or to test the experi-

ment of a new election. The last-named course was finally resolved upon, although with little confidence, as it had been repeatedly tried, among other remedies, without avail. The Governor-General yielded his assent to a dissolution, when an altogether novel and unexpected way out of the difficulty presented itself.

The project of a general union of all the Provinces comprising British North America had been the cherished dream of Mr. Morris's youth and early manhood. As already mentioned in the Introduction to this volume, he had argued in favour of such a scheme as long ago as 1849, at the meeting of the British American League, held at Kingston in that year. The idea had been ever present with him from that time forward, and he had lost no opportunity of drawing public attention to its merits. How earnestly and eloquently he had outlined it on the public platform appears from the two lectures included in the present volume. As a patriotic Canadian he deplored the state of affairs which culminated in the dead-lock of 1864, and upon the defeat of the Ministry on the 14th of June, he, in common with many other public-spirited Parliamentarians, felt gloomy and discouraged. During the following night he deliberated the matter carefully in his own mind, and resolved upon a course of action. He was on intimate and friendly terms with the Hon. George Brown, leader of the Opposition. He knew that Mr. Brown was favourable to a union of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and deemed it not unlikely that he might be brought to favour a general union of all the Provinces.* Accordingly,

* Mr. Brown had only a few hours before handed in the Report of a Parliamentary Committee, of which he was Chairman, appointed some months before to con-

without conferring with any one on the subject, Mr. Morris had an interview with Mr. Brown, and the crisis was discussed between them very fully. Mr. Brown agreed with Mr. Morris in deprecating the state of affairs, and expressed his opinion that the ministerial crisis should be utilized "in settling forever the constitutional difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada."* He added that he was "prepared to co-operate with the existing or any other Administration that would deal with the question promptly and firmly, with a view to its final settlement." He seems to have spoken in similar terms to Mr. (now the Hon.) J. H. Pope, member for Compton. Mr. Morris obtained Mr. Brown's permission to communicate these views to the Hon. J. A. Macdonald, who, though not the Premier, was in all but name the real head of the Government. Mr. Macdonald, acting on the intelligence so received, spoke to Mr. Brown on the subject on the floor of the Assembly, just before the opening of the House on the 16th. He informed Mr. Brown that his (Mr. Brown's) views had been communicated to him, and asked if he (Mr. Brown) had any objection to meet Mr. Galt, Minister of Finance, to discuss the matter. Mr. Brown replied "Certainly not." This led to a conference, brought about by Mr. Morris, between Messieurs Macdonald, Galt and Brown. Further conferences followed, in which

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sider and report upon the most effectual means of removing the existing difficulties in the carrying on of the Government. The Committee had reported in favour of a federal union of either Upper and Lower Canada, or of all the Provinces. This may possibly have had some influence in inducing Mr. Morris to approach Mr. Brown upon the subject.

* See the official statement, quoted in Col. Gray's work on *Confederation*, p. 20 *et seq.*

two other members of the Government, Messieurs Taché and Cartier, took part. The final result was that a great Coalition was agreed upon, to effect a great object. The Government pledged themselves to bring in a measure introducing the federal principle into Canada, with provision for the admission of the Maritime Provinces and the North-West into the same system of Government. Mr. Brown agreed to enter the Government, taking with him two of the most prominent of his political supporters.

It is unnecessary to trace the subsequent history of the Confederation project in minute detail. Suffice it to say that eight members of the Canadian Administration repaired to Charlottetown in the following September, to attend a Convention of delegates from the various Governments of the Maritime Provinces, who purposed to effect a union among themselves, without reference to Canada. The Canadian Ministers were invited to express their views, which they did with great freedom and vigour, recommending the larger scheme, to include the whole of British North America. The Convention, after discussing the matter for some days, adjourned to meet at Quebec on the 10th of October following. The result of the Quebec Conference, which lasted more than a fortnight, was the adoption of the famous Seventy-two Resolutions. A general Confederation of the Provinces was determined upon, and all the delegates stood pledged to use their utmost endeavours to secure the concurrence therein of the Legislatures to which they respectively belonged.

The following session of the Canadian Parliament was largely taken up with debates on the great question which engrossed men's minds, almost to the exclusion of every

other. The debates on this subject were reported with great care, and published in a large volume containing 1032 pages imperial octavo. The following was Mr. Morris's most important contribution to the discussion, and was delivered from his place in the Assembly, on the night of the 23rd of February, 1865.]

SPEECH ON THE CONFEDERATION OF THE PROVINCES.

MR. SPEAKER:

The member for Lambton* has, I think, set a good example, and I shall endeavour, if it be possible, to follow it. I desire to state at the outset that this, as has been well observed by many who have spoken upon the subject, is no new question; but that in one phase or another, as was very properly stated in the narrative given to the House by the honourable member for Montreal West,† it has been before the people of this country from time to time for many years past. It is not my intention to follow that honourable gentleman in his interesting narrative of the history of this question, but I desire to ask the attention of the House to the fact that this is the third time that this question has been formally brought before Parliament by the Government of this country. The first occasion was, I believe, in 1858, when the then Governor-General,‡ in closing the session of Parliament for that year, used in the Speech from the Throne the following words: —"I propose, in the course of the recess, to communicate with Her Majesty's Government, and with the government of the sister colonies, on another matter of very great importance. I am desirous of inviting them to discuss with us the principles on which a bond of a federal character uniting the provinces of British North America may, perhaps, hereafter be practicable."

* Mr. Alexander Mackenzie. The example referred to as having been set by Mr. Mackenzie, who immediately preceded Mr. Morris in the debate, was that of restricting his remarks within reasonable bounds, instead of occupying the attention of the House for an entire day, as some of his predecessors had done.

† Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee.

‡ Sir Edmund Walker Head.

That formal statement was followed by the despatch which has been referred to frequently in this House and during this debate, and which was made the basis of the motion laid before the House last session by the honourable member for South Oxford,* which motion has had the effect of causing present, and, as I believe, future great results. I believe the appointment of the committee moved for by that honourable gentleman will be looked back to as an era in the history of this country. Now, as to the second occasion on which this question was formally brought before the attention of the House and country, we have heard from those who object to this scheme that the people of the country have been taken by surprise, that they do not understand it, and that they are not prepared to discuss it. I would ask, sir, in reference to that, if this present Government was not formed on the very basis and understanding that it would bring about a settlement of this question, and if the people of the country did not know this to be the fact? I hold in my hand the basis upon which the Government was formed, in which the following is stated as the result of a long negotiation between the leading members of it :—

> The Government are prepared to pledge themselves to bring in a measure next session, for the purpose of removing existing difficulties by introducing the Federal principle into Canada, coupled with such provision as will permit the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory to be incorporated in the same system of Government.
>
> And the Government will seek, by sending representatives to the Lower Provinces, and to England, to secure the assent of those interests which are beyond the control of our own legislation to such a measure as may enable all British North America to be united under a general legislature based upon the Federal principle.

This, sir, was the pledge given to this House and country by the present Government on its formation. It was pledged to introduce the Federative system into the Government of Canada, with special provisions fer the incorporation into this Federation of the Maritime Provinces, and it was also pledged to send delegates to those provinces, and invite them to join us in this Federation. And yet we are told, forsooth, that these delegates, who were thus appointed in conformity

* Hon. George Brown. His motion was for the appointment of the committee mentioned in the note on pp. 98, 99, *ante*.

with the pledge of the Government, were "a self-constituted junto:"—we were told that they had no authority for their action in the face of the distinct obligation resting upon the Government to send delegates to those provinces and to England with a view of bringing about this Confederation. No self-constituted junto were those delegates who framed these resolutions; but they met in accordance with a pledge given by this Government, and must be held to have been called together with the sanction of the Parliament of Canada, because Parliament gave the Government, formed to effect the Federation, its confidence. They met also with the sanction of the Imperial Government, as now appears from statements and despatches in possession of this House. But, coming now to the present aspect of the matter, I feel that this country has reason to be satisfied with a scheme of so practical a nature as that now under the consideration of the House. I believe that the plan of union proposed will be found to meet the exigencies of our local position, give latitude to local development, and due protection to local interests, and yet secure that general control which is essentially necessary for the proper government of a country placed under the dominion of the British Crown. And while I thus look upon the plan, I desire to state emphatically and clearly that it is no new principle to which the people of this country and the members of this House are asked to give their sanction. The question of colonial union, in one shape or another, is one that has engaged the attention of high intellects and able statesmen in England; and I think I will be able to show to the House that the very principle we are now endeavouring to introduce as a principle of government in these British North American Provinces is one that has received the sanction of eminent men in England, and more than that, the sanction of a solemn act of the Imperial Parliament. I will go back a few years, when the condition of the Australian colonies rendered it necessary for the statesmen of Great Britain to endeavour to find a practical solution of the difficulty of governing those great and growing dependencies of the British Crown. What was the practical mode adopted when events made it neces-

sary that they should form a new constitution for the more perfect government of those colonies? Why, the Imperial Government revived an old committee of the Privy Council, called the "Committee of Trade and Foreign Plantations," and referred the question to it, calling in to its aid, as new members, Lord Campbell, then Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Sir James Stephen, and Sir Edward Ryan. The result of the deliberations of that committee was a report in which the eminent men who composed it recommended the formation of a general assembly, to which the control of the general affairs of the Australian colonies should be entrusted, with local governments having local jurisdiction and certain defined powers granted to them. I hold in my hands a series of letters on the colonial policy of England, addressed by Earl Grey to Lord John Russell, which contain the report of the committee of the Privy Council that I have referred to, and I find that the plan there suggested is analogous to the one to which we are now asked to give pract' ffect in this country. The proposition of the committee was that there should be a Governor-General to administer the affairs of the Australian colonies, and that he should convene a body, to be called the General Assembly of Australia on receiving a request to that effect from two or more of the Australian legislatures; and it was recommended that this general assembly, so convened, should have the power to make laws respecting the imposition of duties on imports and exports, the post office, the formation of roads, canals and railways, and a variety of other subjects. The advantages of this plan were so manifest, as uniting those colonies together, and securing for them a better and more satisfactory form of government than they had before enjoyed, that the report was at once adopted by the Privy Council, embodied in a bill, and submitted to Parliament. The bill passed the House of Commons, and reached the House of Lords; but while before that body the two clauses which introduced into the government of the Australian colonies the same system that in effect it is proposed to introduce here were dropped. And why? Not because of any change of opinion on the part of the Govern-

ment on the question, nor because the House of Lords was opposed to the principle, but because it was found on examination that they were liable to practical objections, to obviate which amendments would have to be introduced which there were no means of arranging without further communications with the colonies. The Imperial Government would not make these changes in the measure without the consent of the colonies, but Earl Grey by no means changed his mind in regard to the advantages to be derived from the plan proposed, as the following extract from one of his despatches, written in 1850, to the Governor of New South Wales, will show:—

> I am not, however, the less persuaded that the want of some such central authority to regulate matters of common importance to the Australian colonies will be felt; and probably at a very early period; but when this want is so felt, it will of itself suggest the means by which it may be met. The several legislatures will, it is true, be unable at once to give the necessary authority to a General Assembly, because the legislative power of each is confined of necessity within its territorial limits; but if two or more of these legislatures should find that there are objects of common interest for which it is expedient to create such an authority, they will have it in their power, if they can settle the terms of an arrangement for the purpose, to pass acts for giving effect to it, with clauses suspending their operation until Parliament shall have supplied the authority that is wanting. By such acts the extent and objects of the powers which they are prepared to delegate to such a body might be defined and limited with precision, and there can be little doubt that Parliament, when applied to in order to give effect to an arrangement so agreed upon, would readily consent to do so.

Some may say, Mr. Speaker, that this is very true, but that the British Government dropped the plan, and did not proceed with it. I think I shall be prepared to meet that argument, and show that it only rested in the plan to learn the wishes of the people of the colonies; for you find it following the very same principle, reported upon favourably by the Committee on Trade and Foreign Plantations, in the constitution which was subsequently granted to the New Zealand provinces. In 1852 the plan suggested by that committee in regard to Australia was carried into effect in New Zealand, and it must be remembered that at that time the population of New Zealand was very small—so small indeed that one cannot help contrasting the position of that

country with that of British North America at the present day. But the statesmen of Great Britain looked into the future of the colony, and they decided that it would be advisable to confer on it powers analogous to those now sought for by us. The New Zealand Constitutional Act created six provinces, with superintendents, provincial councils of nine appointed by the governor, and a general government of three estates. In the debate on that bill, Earl Grey said that this was the only form of government which could be conferred on a colony situated as that one was. He remarked :—

> It is impracticable, and must for many years continue to be so, for any general legislature to meet all the wants of so many separate settlements at a great distance from each other; hence it seems absolutely necessary to constitute provincial legislatures on which a great portion of the public business must devolve.

The very difficulty which was met with there is the one we have to overcome here. It was found absolutely necessary to create in every province a local legislature, and in addition one central power, to whom matters common to all might be referred. Earl Grey, in the course of the debate, speaking of the importance of this arrangement, said that there were some subjects on which extensive inconvenience would arise, if uniformity of legislation among the several provinces were not insured, which could only be accomplished by a general legislature. And that, Sir, is what this Government now asks us to adopt. They ask us to invite the Imperial Parliament to create for us provincial legislatures, to whom shall be referred all local matters, and that we shall have a general legislature for the care of those subjects of a general character which could not be so well looked after by the provincial legislatures. And I say, Sir, that, finding as we do that this is no new question, we can, therefore, understand why this measure met with such ready approval from the statesmen of Britain, and the high commendation of Her Majesty by her advisers.

But, Mr. Speaker, I will now pass from the consideration of the history of this important movement—and I assure you that I feel the difficulty of addressing the House on this

subject, in consequence of the sense I entertain of the gravity of the question, and the momentous character of the issues it involves. The subject, Sir, is one of the very highest importance. The destinies of this great country are bound up in it. The Upper House has already sanctioned the scheme, and I would take the opportunity of remarking that I do not think that the members of that House can be rightly charged with not having given it that deliberate consideration which its importance demands. I think that they have shown a very proper example in their discussion of the question, and one that we may well follow. They debated with leisure, deliberation, and a thorough appreciation of its gravity, day by day, during four weeks, and I therefore think that the members of the Upper House ought not to have been charged with "indecent haste."

[This expression had been used by the Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald, member for Cornwall, who here interrupted the speaker to remark that the expression used by him (Mr. Macdonald), had been "unsuitable haste." Whereupon Mr. Morris proceeded as follows:—]

I have somewhat of a recording memory, and I think the words unfortunately used were "indecent haste." However, I have no intention of disputing with my honourable friend as to the particular words he used. I have only to express my opinion that the time which has been already spent on this question here and elsewhere has not been lost. I think it is our duty to consider this subject in all its aspects, and believing as I do that the scheme will be adopted by this House, I feel the importance of a full and free discussion, in order that its merits may be put before the country. Mr. Speaker, I desire now to state that I support the proposal at present under our consideration, because in my honest and deliberate judgment I believe that this union, if accomplished, is calculated in its practical effects to bind us more closely to Britain than we could be bound by any other system. [A voice here interrupted: "It would put an end to the connection."] An honourable member says it would put an end to the connection. Well, I would say to that honourable gentleman and this House, that in my opi-

nion there are but two destinies before us. We have either to rise into strength and wealth and power by this union, under the sheltering protection of Britain, or we must be absorbed by the great power beside us. I believe that this is the only conclusion we can arrive at. [A voice: "But the people are against it."] An honourable gentleman says the people are not in favour of a Federal union. But we know, on the contrary, that the people are in favour of the change. When the public mind is excited against any measure, is there not a means open to the people to make known their opposition, and how is it that the table of this House is not covered with petitions against the scheme, if it is so unpopular as honourable gentlemen would have us believe? But, it is urged, there are no petitions for it. And why is it that there are not? Is it not because the Government was constituted on the basis of union? The people, through a vast majority of its representatives in this House, are in favour of it. If they are opposed to it they have the remedy in their own hands. They have the means of opposing, but they do not oppose it because they feel that a change of some kind is absolutely essential, and they have confidence in the wisdom of those entrusted with the destiny of the country in this crisis of its history. But I say that the great reason why this scheme has taken the hold that it has done upon the public men of the province is that they see in it an earnest desire to perpetuate British connection.

[The Hon. Mr. Holton, member for Chateauguay, here interrupted: "It will turn out a delusion."]

I am not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but I am willing to place my prediction against that of the honourable gentleman who says it will be a delusion. A fear has been expressed that the Confederation will lead to the severance of those links which bind us to the mother-country. But I believe it will be our own fault if the ties between us are broken. With entire freedom, and the right of self-government in the fullest sense of the word, together with the great advantage of an improved position, and the strength and power of Great Britain to foster and protect us, why should we seek to change our connection, what object could

we have to induce us to form other ties? What have we to envy in the position of the neighbouring country, burdened as it is with the heavy load of taxation arising from the cruel war raging there, that we should covet that flag? Why then should our coming together for the purpose of union weaken our position, or diminish the tie that links us to Britain? It will be for honourable gentlemen who do not believe that the union of these scattered colonies will give them strength, to prove that, contrary to all precedent, union is not strength. But I will state why this union is calculated to prolong our connection with Britain. It is well known that there has been an entire and radical change of late in the colonial policy of England. That policy has been to extend to us the utmost liberty in our relations to the Empire. What is after all the nature of the bond which links us to Great Britain, apart from our allegiance and loyalty? What is it but a Federative bond? That is what links us to Britain, and I feel quite satisfied that, in the words of an English publicist of some eminence, "the new colonial policy is calculated to prolong the connection of the colonies with the mother-country." I believe it will raise these provinces as part of the British Empire, and so secure to us the permanency of British institutions, and bind us more closely to the Crown. I believe it will, in the words of that far-seeing statesman, Lord Durham, "raise up to the North American colonist a nationality of his own, by elevating those small and unimportant communities into a society having some objects of national importance, and give these inhabitants a country which they will be unwilling to see absorbed into that of their powerful neighbours." And, Sir, our neighbours so see it. Shortly after the visit of the Duke of Newcastle to this country, attention was directed to the question of the union of the colonies, not only in this country, but in England and in the United States. The New York *Courier and Inquirer*, in an article published at that time, came to the conclusion that "the union would, in fact, be an argument for a continuance of the existing relations between the two countries as a matter of policy and gratitude;" and that "such a change of government would

meet with no objection of any weight." I invite the attention of the honourable member for Chateauguay to that statement. But, Mr. Speaker, it is a singular study, looking back over the history of the past, to see how this question has come up in the experience of the various colonies. Before the American revolution, Benjamin Franklin suggested a plan for a Federation of the old colonies of Britain on this continent, which, he afterwards said, would, according to his deliberate opinion, have prevented the severance of the connection between the colonies and the mother-country. I will quote a passage written by him after the Revolution, in which he makes allusion to this project. He said:—

> I proposed and drew up a plan for the union of all the colonies under one Government, so far as might be necessary for defence and other important general purposes. By my plan, the General Government was to be administered by a President-General, appointed and supported by the Crown, and a General Council, to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies, met in the respective assemblies. The plan was agreed to in Congress, but the assemblies of the provinces did not adopt it, as they thought there was too much prerogative in it, and in England it was judged to have too much of the democratic. The different and contrary reasons of dislike to my plan made me suspect that it was really the true medium, and I am still of opinion it would have been happy for both sides if it had been adopted. The colonies so united would have been strong enough to have defended themselves; there would then have been no need of troops from England; of course the subsequent pretext for taxing America, and also the bloody contest it occasioned would have been avoided.

It is singular that nearly a hundred years ago Benjamin Franklin, looking at the difficulties then existing between the colonies, should have suggested a plan of union similar to that now proposed to us, and it is a strong proof of the wisdom of the plan now before this House, that seeing the difficulties under which the other colonies laboured for want of a central power, just as we now see them, proposing this Confederation, he should have declared that if such a plan had been adopted then it would have prevented the severance of the British connection.

[Hon. Mr. Holton—"This scheme is looked upon as equal to independence."]

Is that the opinion of the honourable member? I think that far different views prevail in Britain. In 1858, when

British Columbia was erected into a colony, it was found that the Commons of Britain had no intention of surrendering the fair possessions of Britain on this continent, and Her Majesty was advised to say :—

> Her Majesty hopes that the new colony on the Pacific may be but one step in the career of steady progress, by which Her Majesty's dominions in North America may ultimately be peopled in an unbroken chain from the Atlantic to the Pacific by a loyal, industrious population of subjects of the British Crown.

I say, Sir, that there is no evidence whatever that the statesmen of Britain look upon this great scheme as involving the severance of our connection with the Empire; but these utterances, as read here the other night by the honourable member from Montreal Centre,* prove directly the contrary. If breaking off from the mother-country were its tendency, then I, for one, would not support it, nor would it be supported by any of those honourable gentlemen who so strongly advocate it. I am not afraid to say that any government which dared to bring down such a measure would be hurled from their places.

But, Mr. Speaker, I have been led into the discussion of this question of connection with the mother-country at much greater length than I had intended, by the suggestions of honourable members, and I will take the liberty of calling the attention of the House to a passage from a work I have already referred to, and in which we find an exposition of the policy which governed the administration of Lord John Russell. I find there an elaborate argument to prove that the colonies are an advantage to Britain, and that Britain of course is an advantage to the colonies; and on the mere ground of material interest, if there was no other—if deeper and stronger ties did not exist as they do—I feel satisfied that this country would not be prepared to take the first step towards the severance of our connection with England, and the loss of that prestige and power which go with every British subject to every civilized part of the globe, enabling him to say, like the old Roman, "I am a British citizen." Earl Grey states that

* Hon. (now Sir) John Rose.

The possession of a number of steady and faithful allies, in various quarters of the globe, will surely be admitted to add greatly to the strength of any nation; while no alliance between independent states can be so close and intimate as the connection which unites the colonies to the United Kingdom as parts of the Great British Empire. Nor ought it to be forgotten that the power of a nation does not depend merely on the amount of physical force it can command, but rests, in no small degree, upon opinion and moral influence. In this respect British power would be diminished by the loss of our colonies to a degree which it would be difficult to estimate.

Passing on a little, we find him saying:—

To the latter [*i. e.* the colonists] it is no doubt of far greater importance than to the former, because, while still forming comparatively small and weak communities, they enjoy, in return for their allegiance to the British Crown, all the security and consideration which belongs to them as members of one of the most powerful states in the world. No foreign power ventures to attack or interfere with the smallest of them, while every colonist carries with him to the remotest quarter of the globe which he may visit, in trading or other pursuits, that protection which the character of a British subject everywhere confers.

But to view the subject in another aspect. I believe it will be found that all the conditions are combined in the scheme now before us that are considered necessary for the formation on a permanent basis of a federative union. I hold in my hand a book of some note on *Representative Government*, by John Stuart Mill, and I find that he lays down three conditions as applicable to the union of independent states, and which, by parity of reasoning, are applicable to provinces which seek to have a closer alliance with each other, and also, thereby, a closer alliance with the mother-country. The conditions he lays down are, first:—

That there should be a sufficient amount of mutual sympathy among the populations.

And he states that the sympathies which they should have in common should be

Those of race, language, religion, and, above all, of political institutions, as conducting most to a feeling of identity of political interest.

We possess that strong tie of mutual sympathy in a high degree. We have the same systems of government, and the same political institutions. We are part of the same great

Empire, and that is the real tie which will bind us together in future time. The second condition laid down is :—

That the separate states be not so powerful as to be able to rely for protection against foreign encroachment on their individual strength.

That is a condition which applies most forcibly in our case. The third condition is :—

That there be not a very marked inequality of strength among the several contracting states. They cannot, indeed, be exactly equal in resources; in all federations there will be a gradation of power among the members; some will be more populous, rich, and civilized than others. There is a wide difference in wealth between New York and Rhode Island.

Just as there is between Canada and Prince Edward Island. I trust I have satisfied my honourable friend from Hochelaga* that Mr. Mill's views are entirely applicable to our position. I now proceed to state my belief that we will find great advantages in the future, in the possession of a strong Central Government and local or municipal parliaments, such as are proposed for our adoption. I believe the scheme will be found in fact and in practice—by its combination of the better features of the American system with those of the British Constitution —to have very great practical advantages. I shall read an extract from an article in the London *Times*, written in 1858, bearing on this subject, and which brings very clearly into view the distinction between the system which has been proposed for our adoption, and that which has been adopted in the States. The great weakness of the American system has lain in the fact that the several states, on entering the union, claimed independent jurisdiction; that they demitted to the Central Government certain powers, and that they claimed equal and sovereign powers with regard to everything not so delegated and demitted. The weaknesses and difficulties of that system have been avoided in the project now before us, and we have the central power with defined and sovereign powers, and the local parliaments with their

* Hon. A. A. Dorion, who had just previously interrupted the speaker by a cheer expressive of dissent.

defined and delegated powers, but subordinated to the central power. The article says :—

It is quite clear that the Federal Constitution of the United States of America forms a precedent which cannot possibly be followed in its principles or details by the united colonies, so long as they remain part of the dominions of the Imperial Crown. The principle of the American Federation is, that each is a sovereign state, which consents to delegate to a central authority a portion of its sovereign power, leaving the remainder which is not so delegated absolute and intact in its own hands. This is not the position of the colonies, each of which, instead of being an isolated sovereign state, is an integral part of the British Empire. They cannot delegate their sovereign authority to a central government, because they do not possess the sovereign authority to delegate. The only alternative as it seems to us would be to adopt a course exactly the contrary of that which the United States adopted, and instead of taking for their motto *E Pluribus Unum*, to invert it by saying *In Uno Plura*.

The first steps towards a Federation of the American Colonies would thus be to form them all into one state, to give that state a completely organized government, and then to delegate to each of the colonies out of which that great state is formed, such powers of local government as may be thought necessary, reserving to the Central Government all such powers as are not expressly delegated. The Government of New Zealand forms a precedent well worthy the attention of those who are undertaking this arduous negotiation.

And I cannot doubt that the framers of this constitution have studied the precedent as well of the proposed constitution of Australia, as that of the constitution of New Zealand, which has been in use for ten years past.

[Hon. Mr. Holton here interrupted by the question: "How does it work?"]

I have not been there, but I know that from a small population of 26,000 in all the New Zealand provinces when that Constitution was given them, they have risen in ten years to a population of 250,000—indicating certainly growth and progress. [Hon. Mr. Holton: "As we have grown, in spite of that terribly bad union you wish to do away with."] True, we have grown and progressed under the present union. But the honourable gentleman knows the heart-burning we have had in the past. I have not been in Parliament so long as that honourable gentlemen. But I recollect, when I first took a seat in this House, the state of excitement which then prevailed, and which continued, making government practically impossible. For we had governments maintaining themselves session after session by majorities of one or two, shewing

that it was impossible for any government to conduct public affairs with that dignity and success with which a government ought to conduct them. But, as I have stated, I think the Conference has been exceedingly happy in the plan they have submitted for our adoption. A community of British freemen, as we are, deliberately surveying our past as well as our present position, and looking forward to our future, we in effect resolve that we will adhere to the protection of the British Crown; that we will tell the Goldwin Smith school —those who are crying out for cutting off the colonies—that we will cling to the old mother-land. We desire to maintain our connection. We have no desire to withdraw ourselves from that protection we have so long enjoyed; but we desire, while remaining under that protection, to do all that lies in our power for our self-defence, and for the development of all the great interests which Providence has committed to our trust; and we seek at the hands of the British Parliament such legislation as will enable us to accomplish these great ends for the whole of British America. Why, what a domain do we possess! We have over three millions of square miles of territory—large enough, certainly, for the expansion of the races which inhabit this country; and our desire is, in the language of the late colonial minister—language which, I believe, well expresses the views and sentiments of the people of all these provinces—we would approach the British people, the British Government, and our Sovereign, with this language: "We desire, by your aid, with your sanction and permission, to attempt to add another community of Christian freemen to those by which Great Britain confides the records of her Empire, not to pyramids and obelisks, but to states and communities, whose history will be written in her language." That was the language of the Colouial Secretary, Sir Bulwer Lytton, when he proposed and carried out the setting off of a new colony on the Pacific shore—language certainly which indicated a firm and sure reliance in the power and efficacy of British institutions—that these institutions would be found capable of all the expansion requisite to meet the circumstances of a new country, and of any body of British freemen to whom the care of these institutions may be en-

trusted. But I fear I have been tempted to forget the excellent example of my honourable friend from Lambton.* [Cries of "No, no," "Go on."] I desire very briefly to notice two or three immediate advantages which, in my judgment, would be derived from the consummation, under one central power with local municipal parliaments, of a union of the Canadas with the Maritime Provinces. Let us glance at what is their position, in relation to the great military power which in rising on the other side of the lines. Let us see what they are thinking of us there. One of their eminent statesmen suggested, some years ago, that they should cultivate our acquaintance, while we were still "incurious of our destiny." But we have passed that state. We have become curious of our destiny, and are seeking, as far as we can, to place it on a sure and certain basis. Here is the view taken of our position by an American writer:—

> They have now no comprehensive power that embraces the interests of all—that acts on the prosperity of the seacoast and interior—of commerce and agriculture where they are seemingly rivals—that gives uniformity in tariffs and taxes, and the encouragement that shall be entrusted to the fishing, mining and other great interests.

That is a view of the position of these provinces to which I commend the attention of my honourable friends from Chateauguay and Hochelega. I ask, is it not a correct view? Is not that the position in which we have long been? And I believe the result of this union will be to do away with that state of things. I believe that when these colonies are combined, acting in concert, and quickened and invigorated by a feeling of mutual dependence and interest, the tendency will be to increase their wealth and manufactures, and general strength. And, sir, I am satisfied one of the great advantages of this union will be found in this, that we will be raised above our sectionalisms, and come to feel and to act as the citizens of a great country, with destinies committed to us such as may well evoke the energies of a great people. But I desire to point out another practical advantage which, I think, is of no mean or slight moment; and it is this. Bound as we are to England, by the closest ties, and yet

* See note on p. 101, *ante*.

enjoying our own government, England is still compelled to act for us in all matters of an international nature. But, when we have for all these British provinces one General Government, able to take an oversight of the whole, and to attend to all their various interests, we will be able to represent to Britain on behalf of the whole, with a force and power we have never before been able to use, what those interests are; we will be able to press them home on the attention of British statesmen in such a manner as will lead them to appreciate, and seek to protect those interests, in their negotiations with foreign powers. I would allude, as an illustration of what I mean, to the Reciprocity Treaty, and I cannot refrain from reading a very striking extract from a report presented to the United States House of Representatives in 1862, from the Committee of Commerce on the Reciprocity Treaty. I ask the attention of the House to this extract, as shewing how the United States have been able to take advantage of our isolated condition—our want of central power and authority—to gain for themselves advantages in the negotiation of that treaty, such as they could not have obtained, or even sought, had we been in a position to present all the advantages, in negotiations with the United States, which Canada and the Maritime Provinces as a whole could present. Instead of the American statesmen having to negotiate with the separate governments of separate provinces, they would have to negotiate with the combined interests of British North America. I read this extract as a very striking one, and as entitled, on account of the source from which it comes, to some weight. In the report I have referred to, the natural results of the treaty and of its abrogation are thus spoken of:—

A great and mutually beneficial increase in our commerce with Canada was the natural and primary result of the treaty. Many causes of irritation were removed, and a large accession to our trade was acquired, through the treaty, with the Maritime Provinces. Arguments founded upon the results of the treaty as a whole, with the various provinces, have a valid and incontrovertible application against the unconditional and complete abrogation of the treaty, so far as it refers to provinces against which no complaint is made. The isolated and disconnected condition of the various governments of these provinces to each other, and the absence of their real responsibility to any common

centre, are little understood. No fault is found with the acts of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. These separate provinces and that of Canada have each a separate tariff and legislature, and neither of them is accountable to or for any other. An abrogation of the treaty, as a whole, would therefore be a breach of good faith towards the other provinces, even if it were expedient to adopt such a course towards Canada, but no advantages gained by the treaty with the Maritime Provinces can be admitted as offsets in favour of Canada. Each province made its own bargain, and gave and received its separate equivalent.

This is an instance of some moment, and I believe the same principles will be found to apply to all those questions on which, in the future history of this Confederation, it will be found necessary to confer with foreign governments, through the mother country. No longer detached and isolated from each other, we will be able to present a combined front, and to urge the advantages which may be derived from the exhaustless fisheries of the Lower Provinces, as well as those afforded by Canada. The defence question has been alluded to very frequently in this debate. I think there really cannot be a question that it would be for the advantage, not only of Britain, but of each one of these provinces, that on such subjects as the militia, and on all kindred questions, such as those relating to aliens, the observance of neutrality and like subjects, there should be a general and uniform action; that, seeing the action of any one of the colonies might involve the parent state in war, there should be separate and distinct action, but one uniform action, on all that class of national and international subjects, throughout the whole of the British Provinces. I cannot help thinking that in practice an immense advantage would be derived from the introduction of this system. It is not my *forte*, as it is that of some honourable gentlemen, to speak with regard to the defence question. There are other honourable members who understand that subject thoroughly, and will, no doubt, deal with it in a satisfactory manner. But I cannot help thinking that a uniform system of militia and marine for British North America would be powerfully felt in the history of this continent.

[Hon. Mr. Holton here interrupted—"Are we to have a navy?"]

The honourable gentleman no doubt listened with interest to the speech of the President of the Council, and he might have learned from that that we have a navy of which any country might be proud, devoted to the pursuits of honest industry, and which causes us to rank, even in our infancy, as the third maritime power in the world. And should the time of need come—as I trust it never may—I am satisfied that in the Gulf, on the St. Lawrence, and on the lakes, there would be enough of bold men and brave hearts to man that navy. I would further remark, that under the proposed system local interests would be much better cared for. I am satisfied the local interests of all the separate provinces would be better cared for, if their legislatures were divested of those large subjects of general interest which now absorb —and necessarily so—so much of our time and attention. I will now mention briefly one or two incidental advantages which I believe will be found to accrue in the future from our position as united provinces of the British Empire. I will not quote any figures to show the extent of intercolonial trade that will spring up with the Maritime Provinces and with the West India Provinces. Some years ago there was, as mercantile men well know, a large trade conducted with the West India Islands, which, from various circumstances, has almost entirely ceased. I believe that, when the provinces are united, not only will a large trade spring up in those agricultural and other products which are now supplied to the Lower Provinces from the United States, but a trade will also be established with the West India Islands. Some time ago I took the trouble to look into the figures, and I was surprised to find how large a trade was conducted twenty-five years ago with those islands; and I believe that, by carrying out this union we will have facilities for establishing such commercial relations as will lead to the reopening of that valuable trade.

[Hon. Mr. Holton—"You should bring in the West India Islands also."]

The honourable gentleman is very anxious to extend the Confederation. I have known him for long years as a Federalist, and I believe he is only sorry that we do not go a little

faster. I am satisfied that when Confederation is accomplished he will be one of its most hearty supporters. I would now, Mr. Speaker, desire to quote a few words from a lecture delivered some years ago by Principal Dawson, of Montreal, a well-known Nova Scotian, who is distinguished for his thorough acquaintance with the Maritime Provinces. He says:—

> Their progress in population and wealth is slow, in comparison with that of Western America, though equal to the average of that of the American Union, and more rapid than that of the older states. Their agriculture is rapidly improving, manufacturing and mining enterprises are extending themselves, and railways are being built to connect them with the more inland parts of the continent. Like Great Britain, they possess important minerals in which the neighbouring parts of the continent are deficient, and enjoy the utmost facilities for commercial pursuits. Ultimately, therefore, they must have with the United States, Canada, and the fur countries, the same commercial relations that Britain maintains with western, central and northern Europe. Above all, they form the great natural oceanic termination of the great valley of the St. Lawrence; and although its commerce has hitherto, by the skill and industry of its neighbours, been drawn across the natural barrier which Providence has placed between it and the seaports of the United States, it must ultimately take its natural channel; and then not only will the cities on the St. Lawrence be united by the strongest common interests, but they will be bound to Acadia by ties more close than any merely political union. The great thoroughfares to the rich lands and noble scenery of the west, and thence to the sea breezes and salt water of the Atlantic, and to the great seats of industry and art in the old world, will pass along the St. Lawrence, and through the Lower Provinces. The surplus agricultural produce of Canada will find its nearest consumers among the miners, shipwrights, mariners and fishermen of Acadia; and they will send back the treasures of their mines and of their sea. This ultimate fusion of all the populations extending along this great river, valley and estuary, and the establishment throughout its course of one of the principal streams of American commerce, seems in the nature of things inevitable; and there is already a large field for the profitable employment of labour and capital in accelerating this desirable result.

Such, I believe, Mr. Speaker, will be found to be the results of the steps now being taken.

In conclusion, I would desire to call attention to the advantages we will enjoy in consequence of our being able to do something to secure the development of the immense tract of country lying beyond us—Central British North America, popularly known as the Great North-West. If Canadians are to stand still and allow American energy and enterprise

to press on as it is doing towards that country, the inevitable result must be that that great section of territory will be taken possession of by the citizens of the neighbouring states. The question is one of great interest to the people of Canada. Years ago, Canadian industry pushed its way up the valley of the Ottawa to the Great North-West. In 1798 the North-West Company had in its employment not fewer than 12,000 persons; and there is no reason in the world why the trade which was then carried on should not be re-established between the North-West and Canada. No insuperable obstacles stand in the way. A practicable route exists which can be used by land and by water, and there is no reason why the necessary steps should not be taken to secure the development of the resources of that country, and make them tributary to Canada. I think it was a wise foresight on the part of the gentlemen who prepared the plan now before us, that they laid this down as one of the principal features of the scheme—that they regarded the development of the North-West as necessary for the security and the promotion of the best interests of British North America. If the House will bear with me, Mr. Speaker, I would ask honourable members to consider for a moment the extent of the territory there possessed. An American writer, who estimates it at 2,500,000 square miles, puts it in this way:—

> How large is that? It is fifteen and a half times larger than the State of California; about thirty-eight times as large as the State of New York; nearly twice as large as the thirty-one states of the Union; and, if we omit the territory of Nebraska, as large as all our states and territories combined.

Between the settled portions of Canada and the Red River country there are areas of arable land, ranging from 200,000 acres downwards, with facilities for opening up communication by land and water; and I do not wonder that the late Sir George Simpson, while making his celebrated journey round the world, in passing from Montreal to Red River, and thence overland to the Pacific, should have been struck with the extraordinary advantages of this country, and that on one occasion, when surveying the magnifi-

cent expanse of inland lake and river navigation, in the midst of a fertile country, he should exclaim:—

> Is it too much for the eye of philanthropy to discern through the vista of futurity this noble stream, connecting, as it does, the fertile shores of two spacious lakes, with crowded steamboats on its bosom, and populous towns on its borders?

Sir George Simpson was not a man likely to be carried away by mere impulse; but, viewing the prospect before him, he could not refrain from breaking forth in the glowing language I have quoted. Then, glance for a moment at the Saskatchewan, the Assiniboine and the Red River country, with the Red River settlement of 10,000 people, forming the nucleus for a future province—a nucleus around which immigration could be drawn so as to bind up in that distant region a powerful section of the Confederation. It is a country which embraces 360,000 square miles, and the Red River, Lake Winnipeg, and the Saskatchewan afford a navigable water-line of 1,400 miles. And what is the character of the country? On this point I would quote Professor Hind, who describes the valley of the Red River and a large portion of the country on its affluent, the Assiniboine, as "a Paradise of fertility." He could speak of it in no other terms than those of "astonishment and admiration." He adds that as an agricultural country the character of the soil could not be surpassed, affirming in proof of this assertion

> That all kinds of farm produce common in Canada succeed admirably in the district of Assiniboia, and that as an agricultural country it will one day rank among the most distinguished.

Nor are there any difficulties of climate. If any honourable member will take the trouble to examine that excellent work in our library, Blodgett's *Climatology*, he will find it stated as having been demonstrated that "the climate of the North-West coast, and of the interior towards Lake Winnipeg, is quite the reverse of that experienced in the same latitude on the Atlantic, and is highly favourable to occupation and settlement."

Mr. Speaker, I desire now to place before the House the extent of the territory we possess in the Atlantic and

Pacific Provinces. The Atlantic Provinces comprise Canada East, with an area of 201,989 square miles; Canada West, 148,832; New Brunswick, 27,700; Nova Scotia, 18,746; Prince Edward Island, 2,134; Newfoundland, 35,913—together 435,314 square miles, to which add the territory of Labrador, 5,000 miles, making a grand total of 440,314 square miles, embracing a population of something like 4,000,000 of souls. The Pacific Provinces are British Columbia, containing 200,000 square miles, and Vancouver Island, with 12,000 square miles; and then there is the territory of Hudson's Bay (including Central British North America) with 2,700,000 square miles.

I desire now, Sir, to thank the House for the patience with which honourable members have listened to my remarks. I rose at a late hour in the evening, and seeing that the House was wearied when I commenced, I did not wish to prolong the debate. I have thus shortened very much the remarks I intended to offer, and have treated only hurriedly and casually many points which might have engaged further attention under other circumstances. I desire to express my confident opinion, before closing, that this great scheme is not one which ought to be factiously met. For if ever there was a plan submitted to any legislature which deserved to be treated with an avoidance of party feeling, it is this. It is evident that in the House there are a large majority in favour of the plan, and while it is their duty to concede to the minority—what is the right of the minority—the opportunity of stating their objections to it, it is on the other hand an evidence of the strongest kind that the majority, in supporting this measure, believe they are doing the best for their country, and that it is a measure which meets the popular sanction and approval, when they avow by their own act their readiness to return to the people for their approval of the steps they have thought proper to take. It is the duty of those who are in favour of the scheme—and I believe there are a very large majority who see in it advantages of the most substantial kind—I am firmly persuaded that it is a duty they owe to those who sent them to this House, it is a duty they

owe to the country, it is a duty they owe to the great empire of which we form a part, to bring this scheme to a speedy consummation. I am glad, Sir, in taking a retrospect of the three eventful years during which I have had a seat in this House, to reflect that on the first occasion I had the honour of addressing the House, in 1861, I declared myself in favour of an analogous scheme to that we are now discussing; that I then expressed myself in favour of a general government of the British North American Provinces, with separate local legislatures, in the following terms, when speaking of the question of representation by population :—

He had confidence that men would be found able to meet the question fairly, and to come down with a measure satisfactory to the country. It might be that that measure would be one which would bring together the different provinces of British North America into a union, formed on such a basis as would give to the people of each province the right to manage their own internal affairs, while at the same time the whole should provide for the management of matters of common concern, so as to secure the consolidation of the Britannic power on this continent.*

I have held this opinion ever since I have had the capacity of thinking of the destiny of this country, and I would beg to be allowed further to quote language I used in 1859. Reviewing at that time, as I have done hurriedly to-night, the extent of our possessions, and the great advantages we would be able to obtain by the union now proposed to be carried into effect, I spoke as follows, in a lecture on the Hudson's Bay and Pacific Territories, delivered in Montreal :—

With two powerful colonies on the Pacific, with another or more in the region between Canada and the Rocky Mountains, with a railway and a telegraph linking the Atlantic with the Pacific, and our inland and ocean channels of trade becoming a great thoroughfare of travel and of commerce, who can doubt of the reality and the accuracy of the vision which rises distinctly and clearly defined before us, as the great Britannic Empire of the North stands out in all its grandeur, and in all the brilliancy of its magnificent future! Some hard matter-of-fact thinker, some keen utilitarian, some plodding man of business, may point the finger of scorn at us, and deem all this but an empty shadow—but the fleeting fantasy of a dream. Be it so. Time is a worker of miracles—ay, and of sober realities, too; but when we look east and west and north;

* See *ante*, p. 96.

when we cause the goodly band of the Northmen from Acadia, and Canada, and the North-West, and the Columbia, and the Britain of the Pacific, to defile before us, who are the masters of so vast a territory, of a heritage of such surpassing value; and when we remember the rapid rise into greatness, as one of the powers of the earth, of the former American colonies, and look back over their progress, who can doubt of the future of these British provinces, or of the entire and palpable reality of that vision which rises so grandly before us of this great British Empire of the North—of that new English-speaking nation which will at one and no distant day people all this northern continent—a Russia, as has been well said, it may be, but yet an English Russia, with free institutions, with high civilization, and entire freedom of speech and thought—with its face to the south and its back to the pole, with its right and left resting on the Atlantic and the Pacific, and with the telegraph and the iron road connecting the two oceans? *

Such, Mr. Speaker, is the vision which is present to myself and to many others who, like myself, whether in Upper or Lower Canada, are "to the manner born," and whose all and whose destiny is here. I know and feel and am assured that if the people of these British Provinces are but true to themselves, and if the statesmen of Britain now act aright their part in this great crisis of our national history, this vision will be realized. We will have the pride to belong to a great country still attached to the Crown of Great Britain, but in which, notwithstanding, we shall have entire freedom of action and the blessings of responsible self-government; and I am satisfied we will see as the results of this union all that we could possibly imagine as its fruits. Thanking the House for their kind attention, I have only to say further, that I believe the plan under which we seek to ask the Parliament of Great Britain to legislate for us is a wise and judicious one, and which not only deserves, but which I am confident will receive, the hearty support of the representatives and of the people of this province, and to which I, for one, shall feel it my duty to give my warmest and most cordial sanction.

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* See *ante*, pp. 88, 89.

SPEECH AT PERTH, ON 1ST JULY, 1867.

[The debate on the Confederation resolutions in the Canadian Assembly extended over a period of five weeks, and was not concluded until the 10th of March (1865), when the resolutions were adopted by a vote of 91 to 33. They had previously been adopted in the Legislative Council by a vote of 45 to 15. In due course the Confederation project was brought to maturity. The Dominion of Canada was established by an Act of the Imperial Parliament, and was ushered into existence by virtue of a Royal Proclamation on the 1st of July, 1867.* The day was celebrated throughout the land with great enthusiasm. The Town of Perth, Mr. Morris's birthplace, was not behindhand in doing honour to the event. Mr. Morris himself delivered the following address on the occasion, in the presence of 2,000 persons.]

Mr. Morris, on coming forward, said he had great pleasure in responding to the invitation of the Mayor and Corporation of the Town of Perth, to address this large assemblage, briefly, on subjects appropriate to this auspicious occasion. In accepting the invitation, he regarded it not so much as a personal compliment, but as a witness of

*The Dominion, as then constituted, was composed of the two Canadas (formerly Upper and Lower Canada, thenceforth known respectively as Ontario and Quebec), together with the two Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Provision was made for the admission of the other British North American Provinces and Territories, in case such admission should eventually be thought desirable. The various Territories and Provinces have from time to time been admitted, and at the present day Newfoundland is the only portion of British North America which does not form part of the Dominion. See *ante*, p. 13, note. Public opinion there, however, is understood to be very largely in favour of amalgamation, and the early entry of the colony into the Dominion may confidently be looked for.

the determination of our people to make the Dominion a great success. And as he stood there, and saw the evidences of progress, wealth and luxury on all hands around him, and recollected that just fifty-one years ago, this flourishing town was a wilderness, and the military settlement was just being planted, he could not help conjecturing what the result of another fifty years' progress would be to the Dominion, whose natal day the meeting was met to welcome. The same day, too, that witnesses the inauguration of the Canadian confederacy, henceforth, "Our Glorious First," is also, by a hopeful coincidence, the birth day of the Great North German Confederation. A peaceful revolution has been brought about, and is now commemorated. Our neighbours across the line have their fourth; the result of a revolution—but a fierce and bloody one—the rankling effects of which are still felt, estranging and alienating two great nations. Our great national change, on the other hand, has been brought about by the union of men of all parties in these provinces, with the sanction and aid of the statesmen and the two great political parties in England, and with the personal hearty approval of our Gracious Queen, for the single object of strengthening and advancing colonial interests, and binding the colonies, as one harmonious whole, more closely to the parent land. Statesmen saw, in the British American colonies, the bundle of sticks in the old fable, and that all they wanted was to be well united. Singly, each was weak and feeble—the hand of the child could break it. United, the power of the strong man in his vigour could be defied. He (Mr. Morris) was one of those who believed that the affairs of nations were overruled by Providence. For, in the words of the poet,

> There's a Divinity that shapes our ends,
> Rough hew them how we will."

And, impressed with this belief, he could not avoid seeing in the rapid and successful accomplishment of this great union, and in the way in which difficulties had been removed, and apparently untoward events had contributed towards its success, the workings of the finger of Providence.

It was amazing, for instance, how the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty, designed to have the contrary effect of forcing our people to an unwilling alliance with the United States, had proved beneficial to us—had taught our people that we could rely on our own resources—and had contributed to the opening up of new avenues of trade and commerce. Again, was it not remarkable, how, when the action of New Brunswick was doubtful, the landing on Campobello and the raid on Canada (evoking, as the latter did, a noble spirit of self-defence, and presenting a spectacle to cheer and encourage every lover of his country, in the way in which the message flashed along the telegraph wires at midnight was responded to, and 14,000 men, where but 10,000 were called for, from all ranks and classes and creeds of our society, sprang to arms, ready to do and die in defence of our homes, our hearths, and our altars), rallied the people of New Brunswick as one man around the cause of Union. Yes, viewing the progress of this great national event in its grand and steady progress from its inception to its completion, there rose up on every hand hopeful auguries of a happy and glorious future. But, as time was limited, he would pass on to glance at the position, resources, trade and extent of the Dominion. And first, he would call their attention to the territorial magnitude of the combined provinces. He found the area of the Dominion was 377,045 square miles; the population being about four millions; and were it to advance at the same ratio as in the past, in a single generation the population would, it had been calculated by Mr. Harvey, the able editor of the Year Book, be about 12,000,000. But mere figures give but the faintest idea of the extent and proportions of this fair Dominion, with its magnificent seaboard—its great St. Lawrence—its vast inland seas—its varied resources—its fisheries, its mines of coal, iron, copper, gold and silver, and its rich agricultural resources and vast undeveloped forests. Time, as it passes, with its magic wand, will bring all these into prominent view; but a Dominion equal in extent to Great Britain, France, Prussia, Holland, Belgium, Greece, Portugal, and Switzerland, all put together, and peopled by a race embracing the triple strands,

out of which the cord that binds together the British nation is woven, and intertwining with the English, Irish and Scotch, the blood of old France—a race, too, rendered hardy and self-reliant by our northern climate, cannot fail, under the kind protection of Britain, to rise into position, power, and importance among the nations. Then, again, even in our infancy, we find that our lakes and our Atlantic fisheries have given the new Dominion a marine—a navy, in fact—but one devoted to the peaceful prosecution of a large industry that yet gives the Dominion no insignificant rank among the nations of the world, and gives us, taking tonnage as the test, the third mercantile navy in the world. Looking next at the volume of our trade, he (Mr. Morris) found that the imports of the Dominion in 1865 were $70,068,744, and the exports $68,296,208. But this was neither the time nor place to enlarge on such questions. He would simply, in view of what he had stated, adopt the language of the late Judge Haliburton, better known as Sam Slick, and say: "Now take these facts and see what an empire is here. Surely the best in climate, soil, mineral and other productions, in the world, and peopled by such a race as no other country under heaven can produce. Here, sir, are the bundle of sticks; all they want is to be well united." United they now are, and it is our duty to see that the alliance is made firm and sure, and indissoluble; and such it will be if it be built up on the great principles of British justice and equal rights to the varied classes of our great community. And now, if the audience would bear with him, he would allude, in passing, to some of the advantages that would accrue from this union—this marriage, whose wedding feast we were celebrating. One immediate result had taken place. Intercolonial trade had been revived, and would receive a yet greater impetus. Last fall, some 200,000 barrels of Canadian flour went into consumption in the Acadian provinces, supplanting the American article; and already Canadian capital was busy developing Nova Scotian coal fields; and so, as intercourse increased, with one tariff, one Government, one common aim and object, trade would advance and prosper. The West Indian trade, too, would be re-opened and extend-

ed. Twenty years ago Canada possessed a large trade with those islands, and it would conduce to mutual interests were it to be revived and extended. There is yet another aspect in which the results of union will be most beneficial, and that is the intercolonial point of view. Whether we view it as regards trade relations, or as affecting intercolonial obligations, it is alike important. When the Reciprocity Treaty was last negotiated—a measure which was beneficial to both countries—the committee of commerce of the United States House of Representatives, while noting the fact "that the isolated and disconnected condition of the various Governments of these Provinces to each other, and the absence of their real responsibility to any common centre, were little understood" rejoiced in the declaration, "that no advantage gained by the treaty with the Maritime Provinces can be admitted as offsets in favour of Canada. Each province made its own bargain and received its separate equivalent." Now, all this has been changed. No longer isolated and disconnected, but one people, should our neighbours desire to negotiate with us for a treaty for reciprocal trade and commerce, on fair and equitable terms, the Dominion, strong in the conviction of our ability to stand alone, which experience has given us, will approach the United States, holding in one common hand our navigation of the lakes and the St. Lawrence—our expensive canal system—our vast stores of lumber—our fisheries, and our coasting trade—and we will ask to make a common bargain, and to offer as a common equivalent the advantages which we unitedly possess. And, again, passing from the Trade to the Intercolonial aspect of the question, enormous gain has accrued to us. Our position hitherto has been most disadvantageous, and, at times, critical. Bound to Britain by the ties of origin and our affectionate loyalty—and, by the way, in these trans-Atlantic provinces, this sentiment becomes a power, even our young people speak of Britain as "home." And the celebration of St. George's, St. Andrew's and St. Patrick's days, proves how warmly men's hearts cleave to the fatherland, and how the memories of the old churchyards, where their fathers' bones

lie mouldering, are cherished. Yes, in Canada, loyalty to our Queen and her person is a real pervading power influencing our entire people, and hence a source of strength, and a bulwark against the designs of our powerful neighbours—designs which her leading statesman, Mr. Seward, urged the prosecution of while we were "yet incurious of our destiny"—a stage which we have happily, however, passed. And yet, with entire self-government—with responsible Ministers and Parliamentary Government, the relation of these colonies to the Parent State has been fraught with danger, for each little colony has held in its own hand the power of peace or war between the two great nations—parent and daughter—Britain and the United States. During all the long, stern, American civil war—during all that terrific struggle—Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick might at any time have precipitated those two nations into war. And well it was that at the time of the St. Alban's raid Canada rose to an adequate conception of her international duties—lined her frontier with volunteers, and checked by her Alien Act the designs of those who, having obtained her shelter and enjoyed her hospitality, were using her shores as a basis against a nation with whom Britain was at peace. But all this is changed; and, henceforth, one central power will rule from the far western boundary of Ontario to Halifax. Henceforth, Britain will have only one Government to deal with, instead of three; and henceforth, in all matters of trade and commerce, of defence, of international obligation, of common progress, one central power will govern and control. Still, though much had been accomplished, the work is not yet done. The Union is yet a paper one. It has to be welded and cemented. It has to find lodgment and firm dwelling-place in the hearts of our people, and to that the energies and the efforts of every true patriot must be devoted. And, as time passes, other provinces have to be brought in. Sturdy, self-reliant Prince Edward Island—the garden of the Dominion, as it will be—has to be won over. Newfoundland, six days only from Britain, by a fast steamer, with her fisheries and her undeveloped mineral riches, has to be welcomed to the

Confederacy. The old highway by the Ottawa, and thence to the Red River and the Saskatchewan; and then, linking the Atlantic and Halifax on the East, with Victoria and the Pacific in the far West, the Atlantic and Pacific Railway has to be constructed through British territory, and the colonies of British Columbia and Vancouver Island added to our Confederation, and then we will have arrived at results which I regard as absolutely certain in the future, and which, in 1859,* I thus looked forward to :—

"With two powerful colonies on the Pacific, with another or more in the region between Canada and the Rocky Mountains, with a railway and a telegraph linking the Atlantic with the Pacific, and absorbing the newly opened and fast developing trade with China and Japan, and our inland and ocean channels of trade becoming such a thoroughfare of travel and of commerce as the world never saw before, who can doubt of the reality and the accuracy of the vision which rises distinctly and clearly defined before us, as the Great Britannic Empire of the North stands out in all its grandeur, and in all the brilliancy of its magnificent future! Some hard, matter-of-fact thinker, some keen utilitarian, some plodding man of business, may point the finger of scorn at us, and deem all this but an empty shadow—but the fleeting fantasy of a dreamer. Be it so. Time is a worker of miracles—aye, and of sober realities too; and when we look east and west and north, when we cause the goodly band of the Northmen from Acadia, and Canada, and the North-West, and British Columbia, the Britain of the Pacific, to defile before us, a noble army of hearty spirits encased in stalwart forms—who are the masters of so vast a territory, of a heritage of such surpassing value! and when we remember the rapid rise into the greatness of one of the powers of the earth of the former American Colonies, and look over their progress, who can doubt of the future of these British Provinces, or of the entire and palpable reality of that vision which rises so grandly before us of the Great British Empire of the North—of that new

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* See the close of Lecture II., *ante*.

English-speaking nation which will at one and no distant day people all this Northern continent—a Russia, as has been well said, it may be, but yet an English Russia, with free institutions, with high civilization, and entire freedom of speech and thought—with its face to the South and its back to the pole, with its right and left resting on the Atlantic and the Pacific, with the telegraph and the iron-road connecting the two oceans! Such is the vision which passed before Queen Victoria, when she said to the Commons of England: 'Her Majesty hopes that this new colony in the Pacific may be but one step in the career of progress by which Her Majesty's dominions in North America may ultimately be peopled, in an unbroken chain from the Atlantic to the Pacific, by a loyal and industrious population of subjects of the British Crown.' Such was the patriotic vision that passed before the eye of Roebuck, when, on the shores of Galway, he exclaimed: 'We lost the United Provinces of New England; we lost them, but our good fortune enabled us to make a Northern America. Our great North American colony stretches now from Halifax to Vancouver Island. Up the St. Lawrence, along the lakes, through the Saskatchewan, across the Rocky Mountains, the flag of England is predominant. The language of England goes from Halifax to Vancouver Island; the institution of England will reach thence as far as habitable land goes, even to the poles, and we shall have such a dominion as the world never saw!' Yes, such is the vision which is present to us, and to many others 'to the manner born,' whose all and whose destiny are here. Yes, we know and feel, and are assured, that if the people of these British Provinces are but true to themselves, and if the people and the statesmen of Britain but act aright their part, then this dream will be realized, and that perhaps ere the men of this generation have all passed from this fleeting scene."

And now, a last word or two, and he would have done. He rejoiced in the accomplishment of the Union we have met to celebrate, because he believed that it would tend to the perpetuation, for generations, of our close and intimate connection with Old England. In favour of close and inti-

mate Union with Britain, and the growing up under her shelter to power and strength, we have one and all declared. And, to accomplish this, British and Colonial statesmen have laboured. Let us, then, each and all, strive to accomplish this our destiny: let us cherish the virtue of patriotism: let us take as our motto, "Our Queen and Our Country": let us each realize our responsibility as citizens of a country of such promise, and each in our own sphere do our part, however humble, towards the accomplishment of so noble an enterprise: the building up of a British Dominion, with self-government and free institutions, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. And, meanwhile, in view of so exalted a destiny as is possible for us, let us, one and all, with all the fervour of true patriotism, and the earnestness of true, hot-hearted, British North American, send forth the aspiration, "God save the Queen."

[illegible]

[illegible] Parliament of [illegible] the Hon. William M[illegible] [illegible] Public Works, introduced a series of [illegible] British North [illegible] British South [illegible] position of the North [illegible] The resolutions were [illegible] the leading members [illegible] the Hon. [illegible] Hope, member for Hants, [illegible] strongly against the proposed [illegible] The Hon. L. H. Holton took a similar stand,

and moved an amendment to the effect that it was inexpedient to adopt the resolutions until the claims with which the Territories were burdened should be known. The discussion extended over an entire week, when, on the 11th of the month, a vote was taken, and the amendment was defeated by a majority of 63. The vote stood 101 to 11. The following speech in support of the resolutions was made by Mr. Morris, on the night of Thursday, the 5th.]

Mr. Morris said that before addressing himself to the resolutions before the Chair—the importance of which could not well be exaggerated—he would refer to the position taken up by the member for Hants.* That honorable gentleman told the House and the country that he once had entertained the dream of British American Colonial Union, and of a British Pacific Railway, linking the Atlantic with the Pacific, but that he had thrown all that overboard as "deck cargo." He (Mr. Morris) was sorry to hear the declaration, and yet the illustration was most apt. The member for Hants had pictured himself as the skipper of a little craft, who, imagining that a storm was impending, set to work diligently to lighten his vessel by throwing overboard his deck cargo. He (Mr. Morris) very much feared, however, that the deliberate judgment of the public of the Dominion would be, that when the "deck cargo" was thrown overboard—when the grand idea of Colonial Union, which the honorable gentleman had expatiated on in such glowing terms in his noble speech published in London in 1861—was cast to the waters, there would be no cargo of any value left on board the smack of the member for Hants. He (Mr. Morris) recollected reading with a glow of honest pride the utterances of the member for Hants, in that speech, giving expression as he then did, to the feelings of patriots, and battling manfully for colonial union and colonial elevation, and for the maintenance of the integrity of the Empire. But now all this was changed

* [illegible]

The member for Hants had thrown overboard his deck cargo, and expected all others to do the same. The Pacific Railroad, according to him, was a dream, and yet the American people with indomitable energy were turning that dream into a reality. They did not sneer as it as "deck cargo," nor should we. Dream it might be called, and yet the construction of a Pacific Railroad was not one whit so unlikely as was twenty years ago the construction of the Grand Trunk. He (Mr. Morris) believed that the present generation would not pass away before this great idea would be realized, and a railway would link the Acadian Provinces on the Atlantic with the Pacific coast, and pass through a chain of communities of British freemen. But the member for Hants told us that we were "a nation without an army or a navy," that we were defenceless against our powerful neighbours, and that Britain and British statesmen wanted to throw us off. He (Mr. Morris) deeply regretted that such language should fall from the lips of so prominent a colonist, and he felt constrained to repudiate such sentiments. "A nation without an army or a navy." Were we not an integral portion of the British Empire, and if trouble came—if that direst of calamities did come—a war between two nations of the same blood and lineage, did we not know that the army and navy of Britain would battle in our defence? The member for Hants told us that we were defenceless, and that Britain wished to cast us off. And what was the authority he gave for such a statement? The speech of a noble man, in the House of Lords, whose name even was not given to us, but a speech which, if the member for Hants had correctly reported it, was simply disgraceful to any British peer. He (Mr. Morris) could not allow such a statement to pass without comment, and he felt it to be a duty to place before the country the opinions of leading statesmen as declared in the debate on the Intercolonial Railway in the House of Commons. He adverted to the views of the gentleman of the member for Hants. He had a report of the debate before him. (The speaker was here interrupted by the hour for recess.) Earl Russell pointed out to Lord Derby in the parliament of Portugal, when a motion

by France and Spain, and our ancestors thought fit to keep their treaty with Portugal and defend her—and the position of Canada relatively to the United States.

"That was a time," said Earl Russell, "when the Sovereign of France was the greatest general of modern times, and had the largest armies at his disposal. You would think, then, that the case was hopeless, for here were 300,000 or 400,000, who could always be sent under one of the great marshals of the empire against her, and Portugal must be cut off. But we, too, had a great general, but above all, we had spirit and determination to defend Portugal, because she was our friend and ally, and that defence succeeded. There still remains the Treaty, there still remains Portugal, and *I dare you to say that the defence of Canada is a bit more to be compared to the defence of Portugal was at that time.*"

And, Sir, the noble Lord closed his eloquent speech by this emphatic declaration on the defence question:

"I don't think that there is any such great difficulty in point of policy [illegible] to do that which is disbanded [illegible] *to be able to insert the Queen's subjects when they look to another protector.*"

[Hon. Mr. Howe: But did the member for Lanark see the [illegible] which a general officer gave Lord Russell next day in the *Times*?]

Mr. Morris: No, he had not seen it, but he was sure that the noble Lord had treated the anonymous officer with the contempt he deserved. And he would now quote the [illegible] of the Commander of the British Forces on this subject. The Duke of Cambridge said:

"I hope the time that the terms which [illegible] the [illegible] and the colonies with which the Mother and Colonies have [illegible] [illegible] when they their services were needed, [illegible] that we shall be [illegible] [illegible] which I believe, will also add to the [illegible] of the Empire. I hope that we may [illegible] by [illegible] [illegible] only at the [illegible] which the Bill [illegible] and which [illegible] to the [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible]."

Speaking nearer the House, he quoted only further from the speech of Lord Lyttelton, the Colonial secretary, the Duke of Buckingham, in closing the debate:

"[illegible] *United States* [illegible]"

These were refreshing views. They had the ring of the British metal about them; and he chose—and he knew the House, and the country too, would choose—to understand them as the real sentiments of Britain and Britain's statesmen, with regard to the defence of the Dominion. He preferred to take such views as the expression of the sentiments of Britain, rather than the unsupported statements of the member for Hants. The member for Lambton * had said the other night that he would not live in this country on sufferance. He (Mr. Morris) united in that sentiment, and did not believe that such was our position. He had no sympathy with the craven spirit which was constantly crying out that Canada was defenceless. It would not be, as the member for Hants had more than once depicted it, a contest between four millions and thirty millions. It would be a contest between four millions and thirty millions, with all the power and might of Great Britain cast into the scale with the four millions. And if the struggle ever came, which he trusted it never would, yet when he reflected on the gallant fight which the eight millions of the South had for four years, alone and unaided, maintained against the overwhelming numbers of the North, he felt that the contest would by no means be an unequal one, and he had entire confidence that our connection with the British Empire could and would be maintained, and that we would yet rise to strength and power under the protection of the old British flag. But now he would pass from this subject, which from a sense of duty he had felt constrained to deal with, and not with any feeling of hostility to the member for Hants, and would for a short time take up some of the topics contained in the resolutions. And, first, he would allude to the question of communication between Canada and the North West. He had understood the member for Wellington Centre to say that the distance to be overcome to establish communication between Canada and Fort Garry was one mile. Was he right in so understanding him?

Mr. Father replied that he meant Lake Huron.]

Mr. Morris.—Then the honourable member had placed a most erroneous view of the distance to the Territory before the country. The actual stretch of country to be overpassed between Fort William, on Lake Superior, and Fort Garry, the principal station in the Red River country, was 500 miles, of which 133 was land carriage, and 367 was water navigation. And while this was the case, the distance from St. Paul, in the United States, to Fort Garry was 558 miles, and that a land journey which occupied sixteen days. Let, then, the old Canadian highway to the Red River be re-opened; the old road over the portage be restored, and steamers be placed on the connecting lakes and rivers, and the communication from Lake Superior to Fort Garry could be made in six days, an immense advantage in point of time, as well as in facility of access. But not only was this so, but the intermediate country was decidedly favourable for occupation, containing, as it did, large areas of cultivable land. Sir George Simpson, in his *Overland Journey Round the World*, says of the river which empties Rainy Lake into the Lake of the Woods, that "In a stretch of 100 miles, it is not interrupted by a single impediment, while the current is not strong enough to materially retard the ascending traveller." Professor Hind estimates the area of arable land in the Rainy River valley at 200,000 acres, apart from detached areas on the route between the Kaministiquia and the Rainy River. With such a navigation, and with a country on its banks which Sir George Simpson declared was no less favourable to agriculture than the waters themselves to navigation, we can enter into the region which rose before Sir George when he exclaimed

"[illegible] the [illegible] of Pelasgia [illegible] the state of [illegible] this [illegible] the [illegible] the fertile [illegible] of [illegible] lakes with [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]."

But [illegible] this [illegible] testimony, for Professor Hind, who had visited the country on behalf of the Canadian Government, reported that the country in the region in question "is as well adapted for settlement as any other part of North America. The climate is good, the soil in general fertile,

water power is to be had in abundance, and in the woods there are many valuable kinds of timber." With such an intermediate country, and with such facilities for water communication, he (Mr. Morris) advocated the opening up of the land and water lines of travel—the survey of the arable land, and then the immediate throwing of it open, free to actual settlers, so as to create centres of population along the highway to the Red River from Canada. And if the intermediate country is so arable for settlement, what should be said of the great fertile belt of the British North West, as it is now popularly known in the United States, with its little civilized population of 12,000? Professor Hind described the Valley of the Red River as "a Paradise of fertility," and found it impossible to speak of it in any other terms than those of astonishment and admiration. He also reported that as an agricultural country, it would one day rank among the most distinguished. "Introduce," said he, "the European or Canadian climate into the settlement, and in a very few years the beautiful prairies of the Red River and the Assiniboine would be white with flocks and herds." Such, then, is the country which the Queen and Parliament of England offer to hand over to the Queen and Parliament of Canada, and shall we not accept the magnificent gift? Shall we not re-open the old French trail, and be possessors of a land which we have inherited from French Canada? Have the sons become degenerate, and are they unable to perpetuate what their fathers held? Assuredly not. Canada was roused to the North West by the time of the very possession of interest. Long years ago the Lost Leader and the early French pioneers and traders paddled up the Ottawa from Montreal into the valleys of the Red River, the North and the Saskatchewan, and settled themselves there with an enterprise which we would do well to follow. Let us, with the advantage which railways and steamboats give us, follow in their footsteps, where the early French voyageurs found their way. The country is ours by right of possession, and the great heart of the people of Canada would rejoice if we could transfer to it our children and their posterity, the surplus population to which they were forced by so many

ties of interest and sympathy. Holding those views, he thought that the Government proposed to deal practically with the great question in the resolutions under consideration—proposed to approach the British Crown, and claim that under the Confederation Act this great country should be handed over to the Dominion, subject to a reservation of the rights of the Indians, and to a recognition of such rights as the Hudson's Bay Company might be able to establish. This leads one to consider the position of that company, or rather of their successors. The company claimed "all the country, the waters of which fall into the Hudson's Bay." Not assuming for a moment the validity of the charter, the charter itself expressly excluded from its operation "all the lands already actually possessed by or granted to any of our subjects, or possessed by the subjects of any Christian Province or State." At the time that King Charles the Second granted the charter to the "Hudson's Bay adventurers," Canada was possessed by France, and "the subjects" of that "Christian State" had taken possession of the fertile region of the Red River and the Saskatchewan. By the right, then, of inheritance, did Canada claim the larger portion of the fertile belt, and he therefore endorsed the policy of the Government. He trusted that Canada would assert her claim to every inch of soil which she rightfully owned, but would at the same time recognise any legal claim which could be established by other claimants. He did not believe in the doctrine that might was right. He did not believe in depriving any company or person, by the strong hand of power, of any real substantial rights, but at the same time he would not wrongfully surrender one iota of the rights of Canada. To carry out these views, he hoped that prompt steps would be taken to settle the real boundaries between Canada and the Hudson's Bay Territory, and that thereafter such rights as the Hudson's Bay Company should be found to be possessed of to the remainder of the Territory should be a point for just claim. He also urged again, as he had already done, the opening up of a highway for travel between the Dominion and the Red River country, and that established, he would throw open the fertile glades and prairies of the fertile belt, and give

actual settlers free grants of land to tempt them to build up homes for themselves and their children in that vast country. He would organize a local government there, and give the people the benefit of a constitutional authority, and so aid them in the great work of colonizing that fertile region. We have been told, Sir, that we have no need of this country, and that our land in Canada is not yet taken up. But what are the facts? The good lands of Canada have passed from the hands of the Government, and the farmer in our old Provinces is unable to settle his family around him—is unable to acquire land for his sons, except at prices beyond his reach. The result is, that from east and west, from Ontario and Quebec, our young men are going (against their will, for they would rather remain under British rule) to people Wisconsin and Minnesota, going to people and strengthen a foreign power, and already the boast of the American press is that the New Dominion has neither enterprise nor energy enough to occupy the fertile belt, and that the overflow of American settlement from Minnesota and Dacotah will place its ownership beyond the reach of diplomacy. Shall this boast, Mr. Speaker, be realized? Or shall we rise to an appreciation of our manifest destiny, and go up to possess this land of promise? He trusted that the House would decide at once to accept the Territory, and he firmly believed that if it did so, the time would speedily come when, as we had already seen, the dream of Colonial and Imperial patriots, so far realized, as to Acadia and Canada joined hand in hand under one government, so we would yet see this great British Colonial Union established on a firm, stable and indissoluble basis, and extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

[illegible] Resignation of Attorney-General, [illegible] Office of the Dominion Government, [illegible] Minister of Inland Revenue.

In the month of November, 1869, at the request of the Premier, Sir John Macdonald, Mr. Morris accepted office as Minister of Inland Revenue, and was sworn in as a member

of the Privy Council. Upon returning to his constituents in South Lanark for re-election he was returned by acclamation. The following is a newspaper summary of the speech made by him at Perth on the occasion.]

Why was he here to-day? It was because he had, after full knowledge of the position, felt himself free to accept a seat in the Government of the Dominion, along with the Hon. Messieurs Dunkin and Aikins, both men of high character. He had entered the Government, and he now asked their approval of the step. He would remind them that there was a wide contrast between the present time and that on which they first elected him—between the then and the now. Then all was excitement. Party was arrayed against party, representation by population was the battle cry, and no party was strong enough to govern the country. The governments were weak, and weak governments were the curse of a country. What is wanted is what the people have now, a strong government and a vigorous opposition. Very different was the state of affairs when an attempt was made to find a solution for the difficulties of the position. Sir John Macdonald and George Brown came together, and he was glad to have been one of the men who brought them together. The lion and the lamb lay down together, and these men honestly endeavoured, in a large spirit of patriotism, to give the country peace, and find for it a future. No one party could claim the merit of what was done. The two great parties united in the effort to bind into one harmonious whole the disconnected provinces of Britain on this continent, to prevent them being annexed to the United States, and to make them a source of strength to Great Britain, and thus the Coalition Government of 1864 was formed, the Hon. Messieurs Brown, Mowat and Macdougall entering into an alliance with Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George Cartier. It was succeeded by the Dominion Government under the Premiership of Sir John Macdonald. That Government was formed on a broad and liberal basis. The Premier recognized the necessity of the position, and looked above and beyond previous parties. He called to the councils of Her

Majesty leading men of all parties. From Nova Scotia came the veteran statesman, Howe, who fought the battle of responsible government in Nova Scotia, and whom (though he had shivered a lance with him) he was right glad to welcome to the side of British American Union, and Kenny, a merchant of Irish Catholic origin. New Brunswick contributed her leading man, Tilley, a life long Reformer, and a man of irreproachable character. Lower Canada contributed Cartier and Langevin, the former of whom had risked the whole position of his life to carry Confederation; and Ontario was represented, as they knew, by Sir John A. Macdonald and his colleagues, one of whom was addressing them. And this he would say to the Premier, that he defied any man to point to any instance in his long public career in which he had preferred his private interests to those of the public, or had advantaged himself at the public cost. That much he felt bound to say for Sir John. The Government was still a coalition one in every sense of the word, and it had a great work before it, that of welding and cementing the Union already formed and bringing into it the great fertile belt of the North West and rendering the Union acceptable to the people from Halifax to Fort Garry.

He stood before them that day an advocate now, as he had been at his first connection with them, of this Union. On that day, eight years ago, he had proposed union as a remedy for the position in which the country stood. And in his first speech in Parliament he had used this language, when speaking on the question of representation by population. He had confidence that men would be found able to [illegible] the battle, and to come down with a [illegible] to the country. It might be that that [illegible] would be one who should bring together the different provinces of British North America into a union, formed [illegible] of the people of each province [illegible] their own internal affairs, while at the [illegible] the whole should provide for the management of matters [illegible] the consolidation of the Britannic power on this continent. And to-day he stood before them a member of the Cabinet of the Dominion,

and claimed credit for its policy. He claimed that Confederation had been a real success. It had given Canada power and strength, whether as regards our relations to Great Britain as an integral portion of the Empire, or as concerned trade and public relations with the United States. It had given us the entire control of our own affairs, and two years of Confederation had, under Sandfield Macdonald, given the Province of Ontario a surplus of $1,500,000. The Dominion Government, too, had been able, in the face of a falling revenue, to close the last financial year with, as Mr. Rose stated, a small but real surplus of $300,000. That gentleman had laid down the policy of economy and retrenchment. He had declared that the expenditure must be regulated by the revenue, and that deficits must be avoided, and he had acted on that principle. But there was real work to be done, while the finances of the country were to be administered as a prudent man would do with his own. Immigration was to be fostered and encouraged, and he thought that an immigration of rich and poor should be sought for. The tenant farmer with means should be brought out, as well as the farm labourer. The small farmer from the country could buy the cleared lands of those who wished to colonize with their families the fertile West, and so the whole Dominion would be benefited. The Dominion had a vast country to enter upon a country of excellent climate and fertile soil. There were at the moment difficulties. Governor Macdougall was debarred entrance by the French Metis. But these obstructions would pass away before a firm and conciliatory course, and a thorough respect for the rights of the present inhabitants of the Red River country, who would come to see that their interests and ours were one and identical. He trusted that a wise and kind policy would be pursued towards the Indian population of the North West. We in Canada could place in proud contrast to the conduct of the American people our dealings with the Indian race during the last fifty years.

He would not detain them long, though there were many topics he was tempted to dwell on. He thought there was a bright future before the country, in a close and intimate

alliance with Great Britain. He believed that the Canadian people were as lightly taxed as any people in the world. He desired no change of connection, and believed the people did not, but were contented as they were. They ought indeed to be so, and ought more fully to understand the contrast between our position and that of the United States. There, since the war, according to Mr. Wells, the cost of living had advanced 90 per cent., while the value of labour had risen only 50 per cent., bringing a terrible pressure on the poor and labouring men. The United States tariff averaged 48 per cent., while ours was but 15 per cent. But he would not pursue the contrast further. He hoped to live to see the Dominion extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, peopled by a loyal, a happy and a prosperous community. He believed that the Government would do its duty by the people, and he, as one of them, was now on his trial, and he hoped to come back to them at the general election and ask their approval of the conduct of the Government of which he was a member, and receive it because it had merited their support. By that he was ready to stand or fall.

The election was over, and he would only say that he trusted that all hard feelings would pass away, and that political opponents would meet, as he was ready to do with them in every day life, on terms of personal friendship.

[illegible] incidental to the control of a widely extended [illegible] Parliament [illegible] held by Mr. Morris with [illegible] for nearly three years, when, owing to the [illegible] condition of his health, and the imperious [illegible] he felt [illegible] he resigned his portfolio, and retired for a time, from [illegible] cares and worries of political life. He had, however, seen his long cherished hopes realized. The great trade treaties which he had so persistently and [illegible] advocated for twelve years before, had be-

come a living reality. The claims of the Hudson's Bay Company had been definitely ascertained and adjusted, and their widespread domain had been surrendered. British Columbia had entered the Dominion, and an agreement had been made to construct a transcontinental line of railway connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific. The dreams of the past had become the waking visions of the present. The North West Territories had been received into Canada's capacious bosom, and a territorial government was in process of organization there. The Red River settlement had been erected into a distinct Province, under the name of Manitoba. It was necessary that some trained constitutional lawyer should proceed to that Province in the capacity of Chief Justice, to organize a judicial and municipal system, and to make the majesty of the law respected by the turbulent spirits who had set all law and order at defiance. Mr. Morris, who had taken so conspicuous a part in bringing about the new order of things, was fixed upon as the fitting agent to carry out these important objects. He received the appointment of Chief Justice of Manitoba, and it was arranged that he should shortly proceed to the scene of his labours.

The ties which had long subsisted between Mr. Morris and his constituents were of an altogether exceptional character. The memory of his father was still warmly cherished in Lanark, and his own course had been such as not only to fully justify the confidence reposed in him, but to make the people proud of their representative. Reformers and Conservatives, who agreed upon nothing else, united

[illegible] and in expressing regret at his retirement.

[illegible] was by no [illegible] to the state of feeling prevalent in his constituency and deemed it fitting to make a public exposition of the [illegible]. In pursuance of this conviction, he issued the following:

[illegible] OF THE SOUTH [illegible]

[illegible]

After a period of eleven years, during which I have enjoyed, as your representative, your unwavering support and generous confidence which, I believe, I still retain, it is with deep regret that it becomes my duty to intimate to you that I shall not, at the approaching general election, become a candidate for your suffrages.

I have found the wear and tear of political life, the management of one of the large receiving Departments of the Government, and the anxiety, labour, and attention requisite for the discharge of the duties of a member of a Cabinet charged with the well being of the affairs of the Dominion, too great a strain on my constitution, and I have therefore been compelled, in obedience to the decided representations of my medical advisers, to withdraw, for a time at least, from active public life.

This decision has not been a hasty one, as upwards of a year ago I tendered my resignation, but was prevailed upon by the friendly urgency of the Premier and my colleagues to withdraw it, in the hope that I might be enabled to continue in the discharge of my duties. Time has shown, however, that the hope has not been fully realized, and I have been compelled again to ask for a release from the honourable position of a member of the Government of the Dominion. This has been acceded to, and I have been offered and have accepted the position of Chief Justice of the Province

of Manitoba, to which new land I propose shortly to proceed in the belief that in helping to mould the institutions and develope the resources of that country, which will soon be thickly peopled, I shall find a wide field for usefulness in the future, and be, moreover, fully restored to my wonted health. Under these circumstances I have to bid you farewell, and to thank you for all your kindness to me in the past.

In retiring from political life, I do so at an auspicious period.

The consolidation of the Dominion, under the statesmen who have wisely guided its rising fortunes, has gone on steadily. The vast North West and the rising Province of British Columbia have been added to Canada. The revenue is ample to meet all demands upon it, and the country in all its interests is prosperous.

Under such circumstances I return to private life, confident that the Dominion has entered on a bright career, and assured that, as years roll on, the wisdom of the policy of uniting the scattered British Provinces of North America under one control (which, as you will recollect, I advocated at my first election in 1861) will be amply proved, and Canada, growing in strength and power, will be recognised as the right arm of Britain, and the bonds of affection and sympathy between our country and the Parent State will day by day grow stronger.

Again thanking you for your past confidence, and wishing you and yours all of good,

I have the honour to be,

Your obedient servant,

ALEXANDER MORRIS.

Perth, 9th July, 1872.

[The following correspondence is submitted as illustrative of the strong hold which Mr. Morris had gained upon the affections of his leading constituents. Among the signa-

[illegible] to the complimentary letter inserted below are the [illegible] of some little long and prominent reformers.]

"PERTH, July 22nd, 1873.

"DEAR SIR,—While congratulating you on your appointment to the important position of Chief Justice of Manitoba, we cannot but regret your departure from amongst us, and to give expression to the kindly feelings entertained for you by all parties, we, on behalf of your numerous friends, invite you to a public dinner, when we hope to meet you and present an address embodying our sentiments of your high moral worth, and our respect for you as a citizen.

"We cannot allow the opportunity to pass without congratulating the people of Manitoba on your appointment to their highest judicial office, feeling assured that the ability and administrative capacity which you have so ably displayed in the past will be devoted to their best interests in the future.

"Hoping you will be able to name an early day when it will be convenient for you to accept our invitation, and enable us to discharge a duty which we owe alike to you and ourselves,

"We have honour to be

"Your obedient servants,

"(Signed on behalf of the Committee,)

"JAMES SHAW, Senator.
"JAS. H. GOULD, Warden, Lanark.
"JOHN HAGGART, Mayor of Perth.
"JAS. THOMPSON, Sheriff.
"THOS. MANSFIELD.
"WM. O'BRIEN.
"JAMES ALLAN.
"H. D. SHAW, Secretary.

"To the Honourable Alexander Morris, Chief Justice of Manitoba."

WITH

"PERTH, 23rd July, 1867.

"GENTLEMEN,—I have the honour to acknowledge your welcome favour of the 22nd inst., in which, in order to give expression to the kindly feelings entertained towards me by all parties, you tender me a public dinner. I feel deeply grateful for this expression of good will, but regret that as I intend leaving for a preliminary visit to my new sphere of labor on Wednesday next, I must ask you to postpone until some convenient season, prior to my final departure from among you, the friendly gathering you propose to convene.

"I cannot, however, now refrain from giving utterance to the sorrow I feel, that circumstances beyond my control have compelled me to contemplate my withdrawal to another Province of the Dominion from among a community with whom I had hoped to pass my life, from whom I have received every mark of confidence and kindness, and among whom I can reckon, of all classes and parties, so many true friends. I will only further express for you and those you represent every kind wish, and hoping to have the pleasure of meeting with you on some future day,

"I am yours faithfully,

"ALEXANDER MORRIS.

"To the Hon. JAMES SHAW, Senator.
JAMES H. GOULD, Warden of Lanark.
JOHN HAGGART, Mayor of Perth.
JAMES THOMPSON, Sheriff.
THOS. MANSFIELD, Esq.
WM. O'BRIEN, Esq.
JAMES ALLAN, Esq.
H. D. SHAW, Sec'y of Committee."

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

(Extract of the Address.)

It is my duty, and I may add my privilege, now to open the first term of the Court of Queen's Bench for the Province of Manitoba. The occasion is an interesting and important one. In years to come it will be looked back upon as one of the landmarks in the history of the rise and progress, not alone of this Province, but of the North-West to which it is the portal.

The establishment of social institutions the laying of the foundation of law and order are always eras in the history of a new country; and respect for the laws, and due and orderly regard for the requirements of civil power, are prominent characteristics of the races who are under the British supremacy.

Such respect I look for in Manitoba, and, in discharging the functions I am called to exercise, it shall be my anxious desire to know neither race, creed, nor party; but to administer the laws without fear, favour, or partiality; and, so acting, I am confident that the courts will be supported by the community. Every man who has a stake in the country has a direct interest in the impartial administration of the law, and all such will rejoice that a court fully equipped will henceforth interpret those Common, Dominion and Provincial laws which regulate and control all the relations of social life.

There is beyond question—and I am enabled to speak from an extended observation of various sections of Manitoba—a brilliant future before British North-Western America; and, as an agricultural country, it must take the highest rank. But to secure that rapid development which its advantages entitle it to, and to attract that great influx of population which its natural resources fit it for, there must be stability in the institutions of the country, and there must be confidence that British law and justice will be found in full and entire force. To aid in giving that assurance will be my duty and I have all confidence that the people of this Province, of all classes, will rejoice that the Court of Queen's Bench is now in full operation.

[illegible] before proceeding to other subjects, I would remark incidentally that I look to the bar of Manitoba for their aid in the discharge of my duties.

The experience in practice from over twenty-one years at the bar would naturally lead me to respect and uphold the privileges of the bar, though I will be ready at all times, while treating the bar with all courtesy, to uphold the dignity of the bench, and I therefore look for the most kindly relations as likely to prevail between the bench and the bar.

(The Judge here explained the functions of the Grand Jury and continued.)

I am glad to find that the cases to be submitted to you are not of the graver character of crime.

(The Judge explained the nature of the cases referred to, and proceeded.)

I would rejoice if your duties were confined to these cases, but, I apprehend that it will be the duty of the Crown Prosecutor to ask you to find true bills against certain parties charged with participation in the recent attacks upon certain printing offices in Winnipeg, and the destruction of property therein; and with other offences connected with the recent disturbances which took place during the election in the County of Selkirk for the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada. Should such be the case, it will be your duty to weigh the evidence submitted to you, calmly and dispassionately, and to say whether these parties shall be put on their trial before the court and a jury of their countrymen.

I cannot refrain from saying that it is a matter of deep regret that such occurrences should have taken place. The men who either participated in, or craftily devised the commission of such offences, apart from the heinousness of the acts committed, did a most serious damage to the country in which they dwell.

If Manitoba is to be prosperous, there must be peace and order; there must be confidence in the administration of the laws, and there must be a fearless execution of those laws against all offenders, be they who they may.

I trust that henceforth British subjects in this Province will remember that free men are freest when they yield a ready obedience to the law; and that men of all classes in Manitoba will resolve to work out the destiny of the Province by the use of the free institutions of the country, without resort to acts which only bring disgrace upon those who commit them, and discredit upon the fair fame of the British Empire.

And now I dismiss you to your labours, assured that you will enter on your duties with a firm resolve to do what is right and just.

[After holding the office of Chief Justice about two months, Mr. Morris was appointed Administrator of the Government, the Lieutenant-Governor (the Hon. A. G. Archibald) being meanwhile absent on leave. Towards the close of the year Mr. Archibald resigned, and, on the 5th day of December, 1872, Mr. Morris succeeded him as Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories. Mr. Morris retained this office for the full term of five years, during which the Province of Manitoba advanced from the position of a remote and primitive settlement on the frontier to that of a well settled and prosperous community. On the creation of the District of Keewatin, Mr. Morris became *ex officio* Lieutenant-Governor thereof. He was also appointed Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Manitoba Superintendency, and a Special Commissioner for the making and revision of certain treaties with the Indians of the North-West.]

[illegible]

The Chairman: the Hon. A. G. B. Bannatyne, gave

[illegible]

The toast he said will I know be drunk with pleasure. The Chief Justice and Administrator of the Government has endeared himself to us all since his coming among us. This is the first time we have had the honour of meeting him on an occasion such as this, and we may hope not only that he will enjoy himself, but that he will be spared to see many returns of the day we honour.

Band: "Bonnie Charlie's now awa." Song: "For he's a jolly good fellow."

Chief Justice Morris rose amid prolonged cheers, and said: This is almost the first opportunity I have had of meeting an assembly of friends in this vast North-West. The scene to-night, Mr. Chairman, carries me back some ten years in life. As I look around, I recollect ten years ago meeting with friends on an occasion such as this. At this festive board, I am struck with the fact that I am sitting in the company of young men, and I cannot but realize that I am becoming somewhat of a patriarch. I can recollect well the impulses with which at one time I threw myself into similar organizations. The first dinner of the kind I ever attended was one given in Montreal, when my father occupied the chair. At that time politics ran high, and it so chanced that the President of the St. Patrick's Society, Mr. Hincks, was among the guests, and there were very hard feelings occasionally between the societies. I have lived to see the day when I sat down by that gentleman's side as his colleague, and a truer, trustier colleague I never had. As the country advanced, it was found that the broad platform of the interests of this great Dominion was one on which all could take a stand, and, Mr. Chairman, we took our stand there. I am, gentlemen, a Scotchman—of three

generations, if you will, but I was always taught to believe that Scotchman as I was by descent—Englishman as I was by the ties of fealty and allegiance to the Sovereign—that I was first, and above all, a Canadian. Hence I entertained at the outset a prejudice against societies such as this. I was a Canadian in my heart's core, even when I was laughed at for predicting such a future for Canada as is now within her grasp. I was told at one meeting in Montreal that I had Canada on the brain. Well, gentlemen, a great many others have Canada on the brain now. I had a prejudice against such national societies, because I believed that in a new community like ours, where various races were mingling to advance a common future, these societies might tend to disunion. But experience has shown me the contrary. The man who cherishes recollections of his early home and people is none the less a Canadian because he is loyal to recollections that give him all the characteristics of his race. And my experiences of Scotchmen, Englishmen and Irishmen, show me that they are no less British subjects because they bear in mind the traditions of the past, and endeavour to emulate the noble deeds of their predecessors. But there is another phase of these societies, which we cannot overlook. Commencing at the lowest rung of the ladder in one of them—the largest in the Dominion of Canada—and working my way to the highest, I found that a society such as this has enormous power for good. The Scot is proud. Few ever heard a Scotchman or woman admit they had no money. They may accept a charity, Mr. Chairman, but it will be forced on them. Hence the necessity for associations such as this to seek out and succour the needy. Having thanked them cordially for the hearty reception accorded him, his Honour said—I have taken some part in the politics of my native country, and I must confess that one of the severest trials of my life was to leave active political life. I have done so, and have come to this new land. I come with many others, and I hope we are all resolved to play here that part which will redound to our credit. None of us has come here, Mr. Chairman, and noticed the resources of this country, but must feel that

[illegible] it is a hard, cold climate, but [illegible] the climate makes a hardy, [illegible] nation. You will see that the north [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible]. And here let me [illegible] [illegible] to the sentiments to which the [illegible] [illegible] differences, for I believe that the [illegible] [illegible] that the two great races [illegible] great branches of the one [illegible] the people of Great Britain and the people of the United States should be [illegible] and working together in the future. In that future I think that we too have a part to play. The people of British North America have, I believe, a great future as well as our [illegible] across the line. They are a people by themselves, of themselves, with their own characteristics as we have ours. I believe that the one glorious Empire of Britain will continue, that the Scotchman, the Irishman and the Englishman will continue to maintain peace, that the far scattered colonies of Australia, India and Canada will still be gathered round it, daughters of the Parent State, adding to its strength and greatness, and aiding heartily to advance the interests of the great Empire of which they form a part. That is my aspiration, and I know it is the aspiration of the people of the Dominion. While on the best of terms with our cousins across the line, let us never forget that we are subjects of that old British Crown, and that there we owe our allegiance, and that all our endeavours should be devoted towards transmitting our new Dominion as a glorious heritage to our children's children.

MANITOBA COLLEGE.

The regular term of Manitoba College was brought to a close with great *éclat* on the 20th of December, 1873, Lieutenant Governor Morris distributing the prizes. The formal closing took place at three o'clock, and commenced

[illegible] presentation to the Lieutenant-Governor of the [illegible] which was as follows:]

To His Honor the Honorable [illegible], Lieutenant-Governor of Her Majesty's Privy Council for Canada, and Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories.

[illegible]

We representing the teaching and examining board of Manitoba College, we welcome your Excellency to our closing exercises to-day, and beg to tender you our hearty congratulations upon your appointment to the responsible position of Lieutenant-Governor in our young province. While joining with the people in welcoming you to our midst as one having the character of an upright politician, a public spirited citizen, a thorough Canadian in feeling, and a Christian man, we also especially congratulate ourselves in having in you a friend of education, and a patron of learning. Educated, as we all have been, in the same province of the Dominion from which you came, we cannot but hope that the educational ideas prevalent there, which have been found sound and good, may find their place in this, the vanguard province of the North-West, and that your Excellency may be largely instrumental in shaping a sound and comprehensive system of primary and higher education for the land you have been called to govern. We have undertaken our work here with the hope of supplementing, so far as the ordinary wants of the province require, the education begun in the public schools established under government sanction. We are striving to give an education thoroughly adapted to the wants of the province, not forgetting the noble future which seems in store for our new land; and we hope to develope as the circumstances of the country require, believing that in time we will see, built up in the wilds of the North, an educated and prosperous "Nova Britannia." And whilst it is our aim to train the students under our care in the different branches of a higher secular education, we are

[illegible] by surrounding them with healthful influences, and by giving instructions in Bible truths, to lay in them the foundation of a manly, well balanced and religious character. We hope that you, and in due time, your family, may spend many happy days in our midst, and that the blessing of God may rest upon you in your efforts to advance the best interests of the province, vouchsafed as his blessings are to the man [illegible] *in purest integrity and* [illegible] *expected*).

[illegible], M.A.,
Principal.

[illegible] HART, M.A.,
Professor of Classics.

[illegible] FRENCH,
Examiner in Classics.

[illegible] MACKENZIE,
Commercial Master.

[illegible]

[illegible], M.A., Principal of Manitoba College, and the

[illegible]

I receive with much satisfaction your address of welcome. I confess that I was not prepared to find that such efficient measures had been adopted in this province for securing to the people the benefits of common as well as higher education. The efforts that have been made in the past in this direction testify to the foresight and energy of those early pioneers who settled in the then lonely wilds of Manitoba, and ventured the bold enterprise of building up here a colony of British freemen. Their descendants, and the whole people are, I am glad to see, following in their footsteps—determined to secure for the young the priceless benefits of a sound education; and it will be a source of much satisfaction to me if I can in any way aid or encourage so excellent a work. I have observed with much interest the efforts that you, gentlemen, have made, and are making, in

hall of Manitoba College. The building to which we point as an evidence of the liberality and enterprise of the people of this locality, who have, I understand, erected it at their own cost—such a proof of earnestness not to be overlooked by you, while it must, on the other hand, rejoice the people that they have been enabled to secure so efficient a staff of able and experienced teachers. I have always sympathized with the teacher in his work. Often slighted, too often depreciated, the faithful teacher has yet the satisfaction of knowing that his work will live after him, and that the influence of his character and his teaching will endure after he has ceased from his labours. Holding such views, I wish you and the college over which you preside all success. I trust it will take deep root in the soil, and become one of the most useful and vigorous of the institutions of our North West, and shall esteem it a pleasure if, at any time, or in any way, I can promote its interests, or extend its usefulness.

ADDRESS FROM KILDONAN.

To His Excellency the Honourable Alexander Morris, a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council for Canada, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Manitoba.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

We, the inhabitants of the Parish of Kildonan, in public meeting assembled, beg to approach your Excellency with an address of welcome and congratulation on your accession to the Lieutenant-Governorship of our Province; and we avail ourselves of this your first public appearance among us to present the same. We sincerely rejoice in your Excellency's appointment to the high dignity of representing Her Majesty in this portion of her wide domains. Your character as a man and a statesman has become generally known among us, and the line of conduct you have pursued in an-

other capacity since your arrival in the province has in every respect tended to confirm the favourable opinions we have been led to entertain; and, difficult as the situation of affairs may be, we do trust that the administrative ability, the prudence and caution, the love of impartial justice, and, we will add, the Christian principle and temper by which we believe your Excellency to be characterized, will, by the blessing of God, secure for yourself and for the province a happy and successful administration. We feel confident that your Excellency will do all that is in your power to secure equal civil and political rights to all, to assist in perfecting the educational system of the country, to give encouragement to immigration, and to enforce faithfully the administration of the laws for the repression of vice and crime, so that our land may be blessed with a large, intelligent and contented population, and that good order, quietness and security may everywhere prevail; and we further fondly hope that through the wisdom given to you and your advisers, the various and somewhat conflicting elements of which the population of this province is composed may be fully harmonized and brought to work together for the common good and the advancement of the whole. We cannot doubt that it is interesting to your Excellency to find yourself to-day in the centre of the original Selkirk Settlement, and among the representatives of those who, more than fifty years ago, laid the foundation of the first civilized community amid the wastes of Rupert's land; and we persuade ourselves that you will rejoice with us in the successful issue of our efforts to place our families in a position of worldly comfort, to provide for ourselves the ordinances of religion, and, by the help of friends at home and abroad, to establish efficient seminaries for the education of the young. In conclusion, allow us to express our heartfelt pleasure at seeing your Excellency among us on the present occasion; our ardent wishes that your health may be fully restored and preserved; that you may soon have the joy of being surrounded by your family in a happy and comfortable Manitoba home; that your administration of the Government may be most prosperous and successful; and that the blessing of

the Almighty for time and for eternity may ever rest on you and yours.

Signed on behalf and by order of the meeting,

JOHN H. BELL,
Secretary.
JOHN SUTHERLAND,
Chairman.

REPLY.

To the Hon. John Sutherland, Chairman, and John H. Bell, Esq., Secretary, on behalf of the inhabitants of the Parish of Kildonan:

GENTLEMEN:

I have the pleasure of receiving your kind and cordial address of welcome, and thank you most sincerely for so hearty an expression of good will. Springing myself from a Scottish family, who immigrated to the older Province of Quebec in the year 1801, and finally settled in Ontario some two years afterwards, I rejoice to find myself here, among the progeny of those earnest men who braved the long journey from their native soil to this North-West; conquered the greatest difficulties, aided in building up a thriving centre of civilization, and transmitted to their descendants their sturdy integrity of character, their love of education, their loyalty to their sovereign, and their attachment to the religious principles of their forefathers. Years ago my attention was directed to the North-West possessions of the Crown. I made their history and resources my study. I conjectured their future as part of a great Britannic Confederation, and now, God sparing me, it shall be my endeavour, in the execution of the trust with which I have been honoured, to do what I can to advance the material and social interests of Manitoba, and to aid in attracting to it the overcrowded population of the old world, as well as enterprising settlers from the other provinces of the Dominion; and I will esteem it a privilege to take part in the great work of laying the foundations of free institutions in those territories on so firm

a basis that our children's children may enjoy the precious heritage of civil and religious freedom. I thank you for your expression of confidence, and for your kindly aspirations for the welfare of myself and family, and looking forward to the future, I can only say that, while with you I appreciate the difficulties of the position I have assumed, I do not shrink from meeting them, for I hope that by a course of strict and firm impartiality, by an earnest desire to know no distinction of race or creed, by zealous efforts to cultivate a good understanding between the two races who have peopled Manitoba, and between them and the immigrants who come among us, I shall be able to obtain the confidence and support of the whole community.

ADDRESS FROM MARQUETTE.

[The following address was presented to his Honour by a deputation consisting of Messrs. Kenneth Mackenzie, Charles Mair, Hugh Grant, and James Macdonald, gentlemen formerly from Ontario, now resident in Marquette.]

To His Excellency the Honourable Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, etc., etc.:—

We, the inhabitants of the County of Marquette from Poplar Point westward, beg leave to congratulate you upon your appointment to the Lieutenant Governorship of this Province, and most heartily welcome you to your new and responsible sphere of duty.

We are all aware that at an early period you were one of the first to direct attention to this great country, and to advocate its fitness for settlement. We feel on that account a special gratification at your appointment, and cherish a warm hope that, as your efforts in the past have been constantly directed towards the acquisition of this territory, so in the future your experience and impartiality will contri-

bute largely to make it a fitting home for loyal, industrious, and peaceable men.

We are not ignorant of the difficulties which surround your administration, and that the fundamental work which lies before you is of a nature to task your abilities to the utmost. Yet we feel confidence in your integrity and firmness, and trust that by these means you will retain, as you have already secured, the confidence and approbation of the people.

It is with a view to these difficulties that we approach your Excellency, believing that so long as you govern with a single eye to the prosperity of the whole people, tolerating no unjust concession to any class or creed, it is our duty to strengthen your hands, and to tender you our warmest sympathy and support. We fervently unite in the hope that your labours may be productive of the highest good, and that when you lay down your functions you may do so amidst the regrets of a thankful and prosperous people, in a province which shall then be an honour to the Dominion and a credit to the Empire.

In conclusion, we trust that your family may be spared to join you in safety and comfort, and that a kind Providence will sustain you and them in health and strength, and in the enjoyment of every spiritual and temporal blessing.

REPLY.

GENTLEMEN:—I thank you for your cordial and inspiriting address. It is true that some fourteen years ago, while yet in private life, I commenced to advocate, both in the press and on the platform, the opening up of the territories of Great Britain in the North-West, and the placing them under the control of some form of constitutional government, and that I continued to advocate such a course during the whole of my public career, little dreaming that under Providence I would ever be called upon to take an actual part in giving practical effect in this new land to the views I had so long previously held. You can understand that the great work of developing the resources of Manitoba and

the North-West, the attracting to these territories of a large and thrifty population, and by wise and judicious executive action, and, so far as I have right legitimately to take part therein, by liberal and practical legislation, rendering the people of the country, whether native born or immigrants, contented, prosperous and satisfied with the administration of public affairs, will be to me alike a labour of love and of highest duty.

In that work I know, as you justly say, that I will have difficulties to contend with, as I have even already had, but I shall encounter them cheerfully, and shall endeavour in all circumstances to do what is right and just, relying, as I have done and now do, on meeting from the whole people, without distinction of origin, creed, or party, just such a wise toleration and generous forbearance as your address, I am glad to see, indicates that you are animated by.

I thank you for your expression of personal confidence and assurances of sympathy and support, and cheered and encouraged thereby, I shall persevere in the task I have laid out for myself, and, God sparing me, when I have served the Crown for the term of my appointment, should I then decide on removing from Manitoba, I shall hope to leave behind me a contented and prosperous people, enjoying the benefits of good government and facilities of railroad communication to the fullest extent. I sincerely trust, also, that I shall be able to count many personal friends among the inhabitants of the province.

I appreciate your kind wishes for my family, whom I expect soon to be enabled to bring to Manitoba; and in conclusion, I wish you one and all, most cordially, all that can be desired of good, both temporal and spiritual.

REPLY TO ADDRESS FROM INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTY OF LEDUC, IN PUBLIC MEETING ASSEMBLED.

GENTLEMEN: I most cordially thank you for the address of welcome and congratulation upon my appointment as

Lieutenant Governor of this Province. I am gratified to find that my presence here, as the representative of our beloved Queen, has given you satisfaction, and I trust that during my administration of the affairs of this country a spirit of union and concord will prevail among all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and that the welfare of the entire community will be promoted. For many years I have taken a deep interest in this North-West, and it is therefore with more than ordinary pleasure that I find myself called upon to participate in the work of developing its immense resources and opening it up for settlement. The trust confided to our keeping by Providence is a weighty and important one; but I feel well assured that, if we all strive zealously to do our duty as loyal subjects of that great empire of which we form a part, we shall succeed, and that a bright and happy future will be before us, filled with hope and promise, not only to ourselves, but to the world at large.

For myself, I can only say that I shall endeavour so to discharge the duties of my position as to realize the anticipations to which you gave expression in your address, and it will be my constant desire and aim to promote the happiness and prosperity of the people of Manitoba and the North-West.

I thank you for your kind wishes towards the members of my family. With you, I trust that I shall soon have them with me here. Most fervently do I hope that the blessing which you crave for me and mine may descend upon you, and upon all the people over whose destinies I am called upon to preside.

REPLY TO ADDRESS FROM CERTAIN LOYAL MÉTIS* OF THE COUNTIES OF PROVENCHER AND LISGAR.

GENTLEMEN: I thank you very sincerely for the address which you have presented to me, congratulating me upon my appointment as Lieutenant-Governor.

* French Half Breeds.

I am sent here to represent Her Majesty the Queen, and I can assure you that the earnest desire of the authorities is to deal fairly by the people.

For myself, I have but one object in view, viz., to promote the welfare of the country by every means in my power; and I trust and believe that the time has come when the people of all races and creeds, the Metis, the old settlers and the new-comers alike, will work together to secure peace and tranquillity, and to advance the best interests of our Province.

It will be my earnest endeavour to act impartially towards all, without distinction of party, and to secure equal rights for the inhabitants of Manitoba, whose happiness I have most warmly at heart.

I echo your hope that during my administration of affairs a large development of the resources of the country will take place, and a high degree of prosperity may be attained, in which I trust you will all share.

The North-West Council.

[On the 2nd of January, 1873, the Governor-General in Council, pursuant to the provisions of the 34th Vic., ch. 16, sec. 3, appointed a Council to aid the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories in the Administration of affairs, with such powers as might from time to time be conferred upon them by order of his Excellency in Council.

The Hon. M. A. Girard, of Fort Garry, was named as the senior member. The other gentlemen appointed were the Hon. Donald A. Smith, Henry J. H. Clarke, Pascal Bréland, Alfred Boyd, John Schultz, M.D., Joseph Dubuc, A. G. B. Bannatyne, William Frazer, Robert Hamilton and William J. Christie. This Council met for the first time on the 8th

of March (1873), and were instructed in their duties by Lieutenant Governor Morris. These duties they continued to discharge until the North-West Territories were erected into a separate government, when they were relieved from their responsibilities.

At a special and last meeting of the Council, held at Fort Garry, on the 23rd of November, 1875, there being present the Honourable Messieurs Girard, McKay, Bréland, Boyd, Dubuc, Frazer, Tait, Bannatyne, Kennedy, Delorme, and McTavish, the Lieutenant Governor delivered the following Address:—

GENTLEMEN:—I have now to address you in compliance with the rules you have adopted for the regulation of the proceedings of the Council.

You met, for the first time after the formation of the Council, on the 8th of March, 1873, when I thus addressed you:—

"I have much pleasure in calling you around me to assist me in the administration of the affairs of the North-West Territories. The duties which devolve upon you are of a highly important character. A country of vast extent, which is possessed of abundant resources, is entrusted to your keeping; a country which, though at present but sparsely settled, is destined, I believe, to become the home of thousands of persons, by means of whose industry and energy that which is now almost a wilderness will be quickly transformed into a fruitful land, where civilization and the arts of peace will flourish. It is for us to labour to the utmost of our power, in order to bring about, as speedily as possible, the settlement of the North-West Territories, and the development of their resources, and at the same time to adopt such measures as may be necessary to insure the maintenance of peace and order, and the welfare and happiness of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the Territories."

In again assembling you to meet, in what may prove to be the last, or nearly the last, meeting of the present Council, I have quoted these words for the purpose of congratulating you on the efforts you made to carry into effect the objects which I placed before you at your first meeting.

Before proceeding to the ordinary work of the Session, I therefore think this a fitting occasion to review the work the Council has accomplished, and to place on record the results of its legislation and of its suggestions. The present Council is now only acting provisionally, and a new Council is to be organized, partly nominative by the Crown, and partly elective by the people, with the view of exercising its functions under the presidency of a resident Governor within the Territories themselves. I am confident that that Council will take up the work you began, and have so zealously endeavoured to carry out, and I trust that they will prove successful in their efforts to develop the Territories, and attract to them a large population.

Though you had many difficulties to contend with, you surmounted most of them, and will have the gratification of knowing that you, in a large measure, contributed to shape the policy which will prevail in the Government of the Territories, and the administration of its affairs.

At your first meeting, you passed an Act to prohibit, except under certain restrictions, the importation of spirituous liquors into the Territories, and the Parliament of the Dominion has since adopted your views, and given effect to them by the passing of a law of similar import to that formed by you.

I am glad to say that this measure has proved effective, and will, I believe, contribute largely to the promotion of the well-being of the population of the Territories, and to the prevention of disorder and crime. You also made provision for the appointment of Justices of the Peace, and in connection therewith you represented to the Government of the Dominion that the criminal laws of the Dominion should be extended to the Territories, and that a Mounted Police Force, under military discipline, should be established in the Territories for the maintenance of peace and order therein, and the enforcement of the laws. You have had the satisfaction of seeing these suggestions adopted, and of knowing that the Police Force which you proposed has proved, and is proving, of the greatest service in the Territories.

Such were some of the results of your first meeting, and your subsequent sessions were not unproductive of good. I will only mention, generally, some of the more important subjects you dealt with.

You were, and are, of opinion that the Militia Battalion in Manitoba should be maintained, and should be so increased that an effective force should be available in the Territories.

You proposed that treaties should be made with the Indians of the plains at Forts Carlton, Pitt, and Qu'Appelle, and you suggested that schools should be provided for, that agricultural implements and cattle should be given to the Indians, and that teachers should be furnished to teach them the arts of agriculture.

You have seen a treaty concluded at Qu'Appelle, and I am glad to inform you that treaties will be made next season at the other points indicated.

You urged that Stipendiary Magistrates should be appointed, resident in various portions of the Territory, clothed with powers to deal with certain classes of criminal offences, and also with a limited jurisdiction as regards civil causes, and that a resident Judge, with Queen's Bench powers, should be appointed to deal with graver matters, with an appeal to the Court of Queen's Bench, in the Province of Manitoba, in certain cases.

Your recommendation as to Magistrates has been adopted by the Dominion, and though power has been given to the Judges of the Court of Queen's Bench of Manitoba to hold Courts in the Territories, this can only be regarded as a provisional measure, so that I doubt not your proposal will be eventually carried into effect.

You called attention to the necessity of steps being taken to punish the actors in the Cypress Hill tragedy, and your recommendation has been acted on by the Privy Council, with the best effect as regards the Indian population.

You proposed that a monthly mail should be established between Fort Garry and Fort Edmonton, for the convenience of the public, and it is to be hoped that the private mail now carried for the use of the Police and the Pacific

Railway service may prove the precursor of a much needed boon to the people of the North-West.

You asked that a reserve should be granted to the Norway House Indians, who had been deprived of their means of livelihood by the introduction of steam navigation, and your request has, during the past season, been granted.

You urged that measures should be adopted to collect customs duties in the region of the west known as the Belly and Bow River country, and your representations were complied with.

You passed laws for the appointment of Coroners, for caring for orphan children, for regulating the relations of masters and servants, for "the prohibition of the importation of poisons into the Territories, and of their use in hunting game."

You asked that the existing highways, portages, and watering places in the Territories should be set apart for public uses, and that as soon as treaties with the Indians were completed, surveys should be made of the lands where settlement had taken place, and some of these subjects have been dealt with by the Privy Council, but others still remain for their action. Such, then, is a brief review of the work that you have accomplished, and I can safely tell you that you have reason to be well satisfied with the results of your executive and legislative action, for during your regime, most important steps have been taken towards the establishment of law and order in the Territories, and towards the creation of respect among the people for the authority of the Crown.

The foundation has now been laid for peace, security, the advancement of the settlement of the vast region you have ruled over, and for the securing of the good will of the Indian tribes, and I can only express my confident trust that those who follow you will rear, wisely and well, a noble superstructure on the basis that you have established.

I will now, in conclusion, ask you to enter upon the ordinary work of the session. And will suggest that you should, before you separate, lay down some mode of dealing with a subject which is of the utmost importance, as respects the

relations of the Government of the Queen with the Indian tribes, and as regards their means of livelihood, while they are passing through the transition process of being prepared to earn a living from the soil. I mean the regulation of the buffalo hunt, in such a way as to prolong the subsistence afforded to the native tribes by the wild cattle of the North-West, and thus to give time for their gradual civilization, and for the acquisition of the arts of agriculture. I would also suggest that you should adopt measures to prevent the spread of prairie and forest fires.

You will now proceed to the discharge of your duties, and I am confident that harmony will prevail among you, and that you will exhibit the same desire to advance the best interests of the Dominion which has hitherto actuated you.

THE QU'APPELLE TREATY.

[During his tenure of office as Lieutenant-Governor, it fell to Mr. Morris's lot to conclude various important treaties with the Indians of the North-West. A full account of these treaties, and of Lieutenant-Governor Morris's share in them, will be found in his work entitled "The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories," published in Toronto in 1880. In the sixth chapter will be found an account of the circumstances attending the negotiation and conclusion of the Qu'Appelle Treaty, in September, 1874. After the conclusion of the ceremonial, the French Half-breeds of the district delivered a laudatory address to the representative of Her Majesty, to which he made the following]

REPLY.

To Antoine Pelland, Baptiste Daris and others, Half-breeds of the Lakes Qu'Appelle and environs.

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honour to acknowledge your address, dated September 11th, presenting me your respects, and submitting to me certain petitions with regard to various matters.

I thank you for your expression of satisfaction towards the government of the Queen, whose servant I am, and for the respect you have expressed for myself.

With regard to your petition, to keep the land that you have taken along the river, I shall present it before the Privy Council of Canada in Ottawa, and I have communicated your wishes to the Minister of the Interior who is with me.

I can, however, assure you that I am confident the Government will with great pleasure respect the rights of the Half breeds to the lands which they have cleared and cultivated, because it has always been the custom to regard the rights of actual possessors of lands. The same remark applies to the possessors of the Roman Catholic Mission, and I think that the zeal of those devoted men who follow the Half breeds and Indians in the vast lands of our North-West should be recognised by giving them a certain portion of land suitable for their object.

With regard to the lands which the Half-breeds wish to take in future, I would remark that as we have just made a treaty with Indians, it will be necessary to make the reserves for them as soon as possible, with the view of leaving the other lands open, to be taken up by settlers.

With regard to the chase, you have the same rights that the other subjects of the Queen have, and I shall be happy to put before the North West Council, charged as that Council is with the government of these Territories, your views on the chase, so as to see if it be necessary to make some good laws and provision for the regulation of buffalo

hunting. This subject is of great importance to the Half-breeds, to the Indians, and to the whole country; and I believe that the North-West Council will be ready to give the matter their most serious consideration.

It is the wish of the Government to establish its authority everywhere in these vast territories of the Queen, and I would be glad if the Council and Government in Ottawa are able to find competent persons having your confidence, and capable of executing the laws that the Parliament of Ottawa has a right to make, from time to time, or those that the North-West Council, in the exercise of their powers as a Local Legislature, may enact, but I do not think that the Privy Council will be willing to give the power of making laws to such small communities as the Half-breeds and others in these remote territories.

I am very glad to know your disposition towards the Indians, and I hope that the treaty which the Queen's Commissioners have just had the good fortune to make with them will greatly tend to propagate a spirit of contentment among the Half-breeds and Indians.

With the best disposition towards you, and wishing you all prosperity,

I have the honour to be

Your obedient servant,

ALEXANDER MORRIS.

Fort Qu'Appelle, Sept. 16, 1874.

[The following account of the proceedings connected with the signing of the treaty at Fort Pitt, on the 7th of September, 1876, is extracted from the ninth chapter of the work above referred to.]

September 7.

At ten in the morning the Governor and Commissioners, escorted by the Mounted Police, proceeded to the treaty tent a short distance from Fort Pitt. About eleven o'clock the

Indians commenced to gather, as at Carlton, in a large semi-circle. In front were the young men, galloping about on their horses, then the Chiefs and head men, followed by the main body of the band, to the number of two or three hundred. As they approached, the manœuvres of the horsemen became more and more excited and daring, racing wildly about so rapidly as to be barely distinguishable; unfortunately, from some mischance, two horses and their riders came into collision with such tremendous force as to throw both horses and men violently to the ground. Both horses were severely injured, and one of the Indians had his hip put out of joint. Fortunately, Dr. Kittson, of the police, was near by, and speedily gave relief to the poor sufferer. The ceremonies, however, still went on. Four pipe-stems were carried about and presented to be stroked in token of good feeling and amity (during this performance the band of the Mounted Police played "God save the Queen"), blessings invoked on the whole gathering, the dances performed by the various bands, and finally the pipes of peace smoked by the Governor and Commissioners in turn. The stems, which were finely decorated, were placed with great solemnity on the table in front of the Governor, to be covered for the bearers with blue cloth.

The Chiefs and head men now seated themselves in front of the tent, when the Governor addressed them:

"Indians of the plains, Crees, Chippewayans, Assiniboines and Chippewas, my message is to all. I am here to-day as your Governor under the Queen. The Crees for many days have sent word that they wanted to see some one face to face. The Crees are the principal tribe of the plain Indians, and it is for me a pleasant duty to be here to-day and receive the welcome I have from them. I am here because the Queen and her Councillors have the good of the Indians at heart, because you are the Queen's children, and we must think of you for to-day and to-morrow. The condition of the Indians and their future has given the Queen's Councillors much anxiety. In the old provinces of Canada, from which I came, we have many Indians. They are growing in numbers, and are, as a rule, happy and prosperous. For a

hundred years red and white hands have been clasped together in peace. The instructions of the Queen are to treat the Indians as brothers, and so we ought to be. The Great Spirit made this earth we are on. He planted the trees and made the rivers flow for the good of all his people, white and red. The country is very wide, and there is room for all. It is six years since the Queen took back into her own hands the government of her subjects, red and white, in this country. It was thought her Indian children would be better cared for in her own hand. This is the seventh time in the last five years that her Indian children have been called together for this purpose. This is the fourth time that I have met my Indian brothers, and standing here on this bright day with the sun above us, I cast my eyes to the east down to the great lakes, and I see a broad road leading from there to the Red River. I see it stretching on to Ellice, I see it branching there, the one to Qu'Appelle and Cyprus Hills, the other by Pelly to Carlton. It is a wide and plain trail. Anyone can see it, and on that road, taking, for the Queen, the hand of the Governor and Commissioners, I see all the Indians. I see the Queen's Councillors taking the Indian by the hand, saying: "We are brothers, we will lift you up, we will teach you, if you will learn, the cunning of the white man." All along that road I see Indians gathering, I see gardens growing and houses building; I see them receiving money from the Queen's Commissioners to purchase clothing for their children. At the same time I see them enjoying their hunting and fishing as before. I see them retaining their old mode of living, with the Queen's gift in addition.

"I met the Crees at Carlton. They heard my words there, they read my face, and through that my heart, and said my words were true, and they took my hand on behalf of the Queen. What they did I wish you to do. I wish you to travel on the road I have spoken of, a road I see stretching out broad and plain to the Rocky Mountains. I know you have been told many stories, some of them not true. Do not listen to the bad voices of men who have their own ends to serve. Listen rather to those who have only your good at

heart. I have come a long way to meet you. Last year I sent you a message that you would be met this year, and I do not forget my promises.

"I went to Ottawa, where the Queen's Councillors have their council chamber, to talk, among other things, about you.

"I have come seven hundred miles to see you. Why should I take all this trouble? For two reasons. First, the duty was put upon me as one of the Queen's Councillors, to see you with my brother Commissioners, Hon. W.J. Christie and Hon. James McKay. The other reason is a personal one, because since I was a young man my heart was warm to the Indians, and I have taken a great interest in them. For more than twenty-five years I have studied their condition in the present and in the future. I have been many years in public life, but the first words I spoke in public were for the Indians, and in that vision of the day I saw the Queen's white men understanding their duty. I saw them understanding that they had no right to wrap themselves up in a cold mantle of selfishness, that they had no right to turn away and say, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' On the contrary, I saw them saying, 'The Indians are our brothers, we must try to help them to make a living for themselves and their children.' I tell you, you must think of those who will come after you. As I came here I saw tracks leading to the lakes and water-courses, once well beaten, now grown over with grass. I saw bones bleaching by the wayside. I saw the places where the buffalo had been, and I thought What will become of the Indian? I said to myself, We must teach the children to prepare for the future; if we do not, but a few suns will pass, and they will melt away like snow before the sun in spring-time. You know my words are true; you see for yourselves and know that your numbers are lessening every year. Now, the whole burden of my message from the Queen is that we wish to help you in the days that are to come. We do not want to take away the means of living that you have now. We do not want to tie you down. We want you to have homes of your own where your children can be taught to raise for themselves food

from the mother earth. You may not all be ready for that, but some, I have no doubt, are, and in a short time others will follow. I am here to talk plainly. I have nothing to hide. I am here to tell you what we are ready to do. Your tribe is not all here at the present time. Some of the principal Chiefs are absent. This cannot be avoided. The country is wide, and when the buffalo come near you must follow them. This does not matter, for what I have to give is for the absent as well as for the present. Next year, if the treaty is made, a Commissioner will be sent to you, and you will be notified of the times and places of meeting, so that you will not have long journeys. After that, two or three servants of the Queen will be appointed to live in the country to look after the Indians, and see that the terms of the treaty are carried out.

"I have not yet given you my message. I know you have heard what your brothers did at Carlton, and I expect you to do the same here, for if you do not you will be the first Indians who refused to take my hand. At Carlton I had a slight difficulty. One of the Chiefs dreamt that instead of making the treaty at the camp of the great body of the Indians, I made it at his, and so his people stood aside. I was sorry for him and his people. I did not wish to go and leave them out. I sent him word after I had made the treaty, and brought him in with the others. When I went to the North-west angle I met the Chippewa nation. They were not all present, but the absent ones were seen the next year. I told them the message from the Queen, and what she wished to do for them. In all four thousand Indians accepted the treaty, and now, I am glad to say, many of them have homes and gardens of their own. The next year I went to Qu'Appelle, and saw the Crees and Chippewas, and there five thousand understood us and took our hands. Last summer I went with Mr. McKay to Lake Winnipeg, and there all the Swampy Crees accepted the Queen's terms. Now I have stroked the pipe with your brothers at Carlton as with you.

"Three years ago a party of Assiniboines were shot by American traders. Men, women and children were killed.

We reported the affair to Ottawa. We said the time has come when you must send the red-coated servants of the Queen to the North-West to protect the Indian from fire-water, from being shot down by men who know no law, to preserve peace between the Indians, to punish all who break the law, to prevent whites from doing wrong to Indians; and they are here to-day to do honour to the office which I hold. Our Indian Chiefs wear red coats, and wherever they meet the police they will know they meet friends. I know that you have been told that if war came you would be put in the front. This is not so. Your brothers at Carlton asked me that they might not be forced to fight, and I tell you, as I assured them, you will never be asked to fight against your will; and I trust the time will never come of war between the Queen and the great country near us.

"Again, I say, all we seek is your good. I speak openly, as brother to brother, as a father to his children, and I would give you a last advice. Hear my words; come and join the great band of Indians who are walking hand-in-hand with us on the road I spoke of when I began—a road, I believe in my heart, that will lead the Indian on to a much more comfortable state than he is in now. My words, when they are accepted, are written down, and they last, as I have said to the others, as long as the sun shines and the river runs. I expect you are prepared for the message I have to deliver, and I will wait to see if any of the Chiefs wish to speak before I go further."

Sweet Grass, the principal Cree Chief, rose, and taking the Governor by the hand, said: "We have heard what the Governor has said, and now the Indians want to hear the terms of the treaty, after which they will all shake hands with the Governor and Commissioners. We then want to go to our camp to meet in council."

The Governor then very carefully and distinctly explained the terms and promises of the treaty as made at Carlton. This was received by the Indians with loud assenting exclamations.

On the 8th the Indians sent a message that they required further time for deliberation, and the meeting was put off until the 9th.

On the morning of the 9th the Indians were slow in gathering, as they wished to settle all difficulties and misunderstandings among themselves before coming to the treaty tent. This was apparently accomplished about eleven a. m., when the whole body approached and seated themselves in good order, when the Governor said :—

"Indian children of the Great Queen, we meet again on a bright day. You heard many words from me the other day. I delivered you my message from the Queen. I held out my hand in the Queen's name, full of her bounty. You asked time to consult together. I gave it to you very gladly, because I did not come here to surprise you. I trust the Great Spirit has put good thoughts into your hearts, and your wise men have found my words good. I am now ready to hear whether you are prepared to do as the great body of the Indian people have done. It is now for the Indians to speak through those whom they may choose. My heart is warm to you, and my ears are open."

Ku-ye-win (The Eagle) addressed the Indians, telling them not to be afraid, that the Governor was to them as a brother; that what the Queen wished to establish through him was for their good, and if any of them wished to speak to do so.

After waiting some time the Governor said, "I had hoped the Indians would have taken me at my word, and taken me as a brother and a friend. True, I am the Queen's Governor; that I am here to-day shows me to be your friend. Why can you not open your hearts to me? I have met many Indians before, but this is the first time I have had all the talking to do myself. Now, cast everything behind your backs, and speak to me face to face. I have offered as we have done to the other Indians. Tell me now whether you will take my hand and accept it. There is nothing to be ashamed of, nothing to be afraid of. Think of the good of your children and your children's children. Stand up now like wise men, and tell me if you will take what I offered. I cannot believe it to be possible that you would throw my hand back. Speak, and do not be afraid or ashamed."

WEE-KAS-KOO-KEE-SAY-YIN (Sweet Grass):—"I thank you for this day, and also I thank you for what I have seen and heard. I also thank the Queen for sending you to act for our good. I am glad to have a brother and friend in you, which undoubtedly will raise us above our present condition. I am glad for your offers, and thank you from my heart. I speak this in the presence of the Divine Being. It is all for our good, I see nothing to be afraid of, I therefore accept of it gladly, and take your hand to my heart. May this continue as long as this earth stands and the river flows. The Great King, our Father, is now looking upon us this day. He regards all the people equal with one another; He has mercy on the whole earth; He has opened a new world to us. I have pity on all those who have to live by the buffalo. If I am spared until this time next year I want this my brother to commence to act for me, thinking thereby that the buffalo may be protected. It is for that reason I give you my hand. If spared, I shall commence at once to clear a small piece of land for myself, and others of my kinsmen will do the same. We will commence hand in hand to protect the buffalo. When I hold your hand I feel as if the Great Father were looking on us both as brothers. I am thankful. May this earth here never see the white man's blood spilt on it by the red man. I thank God that we stand together, that you all see us. I am thankful that I can raise up my head, and the white man and red man can stand together as long as the sun shines. When I hold your hands and touch your heart, as I do now (suiting his action to the words), let us be as one. Use your utmost to help me and help my children, so that they may prosper."

The Chief's remarks were assented to by the Indians by loud ejaculations.

GOVERNOR:—"I rise with a glad heart; we have come together and understood each other. I am glad that you have seen the right way. I am glad you have accepted so unanimously the offer made. I will tell the Queen's Councillors what good hearts their Indian children have; I will tell them that they think of the good of their children's children.

"I feel that we have done to-day a good work. The years will pass away and we with them, but the work we have done to-day will stand as the hills. What we have said and done has been written down. My promises at Carlton have been written down and cannot be rubbed out, so there can be no mistake about what is agreed upon. I will now have the terms of the treaty fully read and explained to you, and before I go away I will leave a copy with your principal Chief.

"After I and the Commissioners, for the Queen, have signed the treaty, I will call upon your Chief and Councillors to do the same; and before the payments are made by Mr. Christie, I will give the Chiefs the medals of the Queen and their flags.

"Some of your Chiefs and people are away. Next year we will send men near to where their bands live. Notice will be given, and those who are away now will receive the present of money we are going to give you the same as if they had been here, and when you go back to the plains I ask you to tell your brothers what we have done."

The Governor and Commissioners then signed the treaty on the part of the Queen, and nine Chiefs and as many of their Councillors as were with them signed on behalf of the Indians.

Speech at the Banquet to Lord Dufferin, at Winnipeg.

[In the summer of 1877 the Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, accompanied by Lady Dufferin, his daughter, Lady Helen Blackwood, and a numerous suite, paid a prolonged visit to Winnipeg and the North-West. The visit extended over nearly three months, during which interval His Excellency travelled over a great extent of territory, familiarizing himself with the capabilities of the

soil and the most urgent requirements of the people. On some of the most important of his tours he was accompanied by Lieutenant-Governor Morris. The Governor-General won golden opinions wherever he went, and on his departure from the Province for Ottawa, on the 29th of September, a splendid banquet was tendered him at the Town-Hall, Winnipeg. The guests, three hundred in number, included all the prominent citizens of the Province, and His Excellency made one of the most telling of all his many eloquent speeches on the occasion. It had been arranged between Lieutenant-Governor Morris and the committee of arrangements that he, Mr. Morris, should not be toasted, or called upon to speak. This fact coming to the ears of Lord Dufferin, just as he was about to sit down to table, he insisted upon such a modification of the arrangements as would admit of the Lieutenant-Governor's health being drunk. This, of course, involved the necessity of a speech on Mr. Morris's part, which, moreover, was necessarily delivered without any attempt at preparation. The following, extracted from Mr. Leggo's *History of the Administration of the Earl of Dufferin*, is a fairly accurate report of it.]

Mr. Mayor, Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen:—For the first time since my experience of the community of Winnipeg, I have to find fault with them. I find myself in a position of embarrassment and difficulty. I came here as the guest of the Mayor and Corporation of the City, which I have seen grow from a hamlet to its present goodly proportions, the harbinger of the future that I believe lies before it as the city of the British North-West; but I do feel that it was not fair to me that I should find myself called upon in the presence of the Chief Representa-

tive of the Crown, of which I am one of the subordinate representatives, to respond without warning to the toast that has just been drunk. Until my health was proposed I had no knowledge that you were to do me the honour that you have so kindly done me. On the contrary it had been understood that I was not to be called on. I make this explanation because I feel it is due that I should thank you, not only for the courtesy and kindness extended on this occasion, but far more, for that respect, support and kindness, which have strengthened me for the difficulties I have had to encounter during the past five years. I ask those around me to cast back their glances, and contrast the past with the present, and then rejoice that our difficulties, grave and urgent as they were when I came among you, are past; that peace, order and harmony dwell among, and exist between the different nationalities that compose this our mixed community; and that all are animated by an affection and loyalty deep in the hearts of our people towards Her Gracious Majesty, and her illustrious and noble Representative whom we have had the pleasure of meeting to-day.

Gentlemen, it would be unbecoming in me to trespass at any length on your time and attention, and it would be the more unbecoming that I should indulge in desultory remarks, after the elaborate and eloquent eulogium of the Governor-General of this great Dominion, that has been passed upon your position as an outlying province. But as I stand here, on, as it may be, the last occasion that I shall have the opportunity of meeting such a large number of those who have been my fellow-citizens and associates for five years, I cannot help saying that my residence, my position in this province, has been a pride and satisfaction to me. Twenty-five years ago, when comparatively a young man, I directed my studies to the future of the North-West of the Dominion. I gleaned every source of information I could obtain, and came to the conclusion that there was here the backbone of the future Dominion. In my visions, I saw the Pacific Railway stretching across the continent, and I saw the Indian population in the far west feeling the throbbing of the white man's heart, and learning the arts of civiliza-

tion, and I saw the vast population of the old world peopling this land, and making it the granary of the globe. I believed all this, and therefore it was with peculiar pride that when ill health drove me from being a member of the Cabinet of the Dominion to accept the position of the first Chief Justice of Manitoba, renewed health enabled me to accept the office of Lieutenant-Governor of this province and the North-West Territories, in which it had been my lot as a Minister of the Crown, and as a private citizen, to take an active interest.

Gentlemen, in all communities there are difficulties, in all communities disagreements; but I can say this, that I earnestly trust that I leave this Province carrying with me the good will of its people. If I do not it is not because I have not honestly and justly striven to do my duty as a servant of the Crown. There may be, there doubtless will be, little ripples on the surface of the water; but all that I can say is this: that although I leave you, I shall not carry with me a remembrance of any of the difficulties that have crossed my path in the past five years. I leave this Province as one who feels that five years of his life have been worked into its history, and that it is his good fortune to carry away with him the friendship of the community; and whatever my lot may be in the future, I trust it will be found that the occasions will be suggested to me in which I may be of service to you. But be that as it may, when I mingle with the people of Ontario and Quebec, as I will do when occasions arise in which I can give advice, and direct the steps of those who may wish to seek a home in this province of the Dominion, at all events, I am indulging in no vain boast when I say you have a friend who will endeavour to do what he can to advance your interests. And now, ere I take my seat, asking your pardon for the manner in which I have addressed you, I cannot help expressing the deep satisfaction with which I find beside me to-day His Excellency and Her Excellency Lord and Lady Dufferin. It is an era in the history of this province. I know they have endeavoured to master our position, and right glad I was when I stood at St.

Peter's Indian Reserve to hear His Excellency tell those red children of the Queen that Her Majesty had charged him to enquire specially into their condition, and into the condition of the people of the country; and glad I am that so intelligent, so faithful a servant of the Crown, has been here among us, who will be able to carry home to the fountain and source of honour the knowledge of the fact that here in this province there dwells a community of the most mixed character that can be found in any country under the sun, and that here, thanks to Providence, thanks to the good sense of the community, to the spirit of conciliation and adaptation to each other which has been developed among us, there is peace, harmony and concord.

Gentlemen, I recollect that some twenty years ago, while residing in the City of Montreal, at a dejeuner given to a celebrated English author, a clergyman who now holds a very prominent position in the city of London (England), was called on to speak. I recollect his declining. He was a Canadian like myself, though he is now in London, and I recollect that after I had spoken, he rose to his feet and said he had not intended to speak till he heard his friend's (Mr. Morris's) address, which convinced him that he had "Canada on the brain." Well, gentlemen, I have had Manitoba on the brain for the last five years, and I have only to say that my thoughts and intellect have been given in duty to my Sovereign, and to my superior officer the Governor-General, and to the interests of this Province. And I can say that next to my duty to my Queen, let my hereafter be short or long in it, will be found devotion to the interests of Canada, Manitoba and the North West.

FINIS.